HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVIII, No. 50 Copyright 1968 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. December 14, 1968 35¢

Despite Warren's Remaining Until June

Nixon Still Aims for a 'New Court'

By TED LEWIS

President-elect Nixon's decision to keep Chief Justice Earl Warren on the Supreme Court through the present term means, of course, that the long-controversial "Warren Court" will remain intact at least until October.

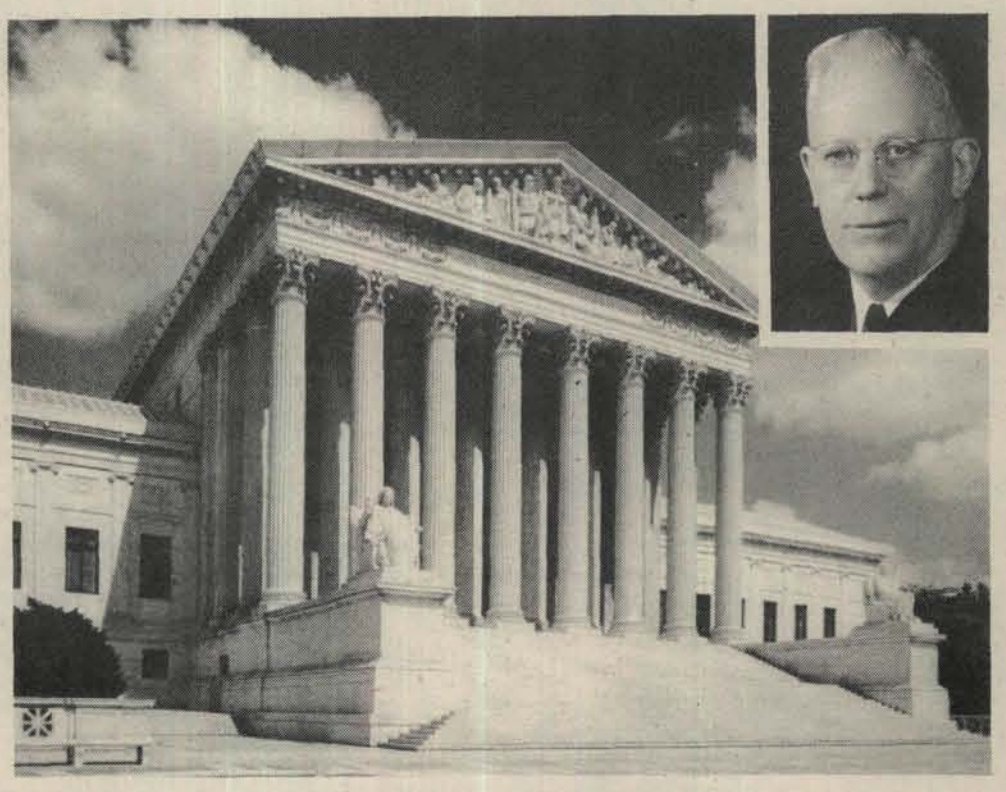
But any suggestion that this sort of delay has any bearing on the President-elect's long-range plans for a "new court" is totally unrealistic. What Nixon has done is simply to show generosity to a longtime political enemy and acceptance of the fact that all changes in the Supreme Court should be made between its annual sessions—not during them.

It was apparent earlier in the day, before the formal Nixon announcement, that Nixon was going to let Warren stay on the court until June, when the present term ends.

This was evident when it was revealed on December 4 that the President-elect had requested that the chief justice swear him in and Warren's response was that he would be "delighted to administer the oath."

That amicable arrangement was more than just a social note with friendly overtones. It meant that Nixon was not going to act peremptorily, once President, on Warren's retirement request, first submitted to LBJ in June. It also meant that both men had decided to forget old political grudges that go back to 1952, when Warren, then governor of California, felt that Nixon crossed him up by pushing Ike rather than Earl for the GOP presidential nomination.

The next court term does not start until October. The date is important because it means that Nixon won't have to act to replace the chief justice until summer, with Senate confirmation of a successor not required until the fall of 1969.



President-elect Nixon is expected to be careful in his choice of Supreme Court appointments, although Chief Justice Warren (inset) won't leave until June. Also, Nixon will probably be naming at least two new associate justices who are expected to be more conservative than the men they will replace.

This actually conforms to the chief justice's own view, that retirements from the court should be acted on only at the end of a court term. Otherwise, vacancies of this nature would have to be filled with justices who had not sat in on cases before the court for decision.

That was Warren's original intention when he informed LBJ in June that he wanted to retire. It was presumed that a successor would be nominated and confirmed by the Senate before the term began in October.

It did not work out that way because Johnson decided to be cute and offered the Senate as Warren's replacement Associate Justice Abe Fortas, but with the proviso that Warren's retirement would be delayed until Fortas was okayed.

As we all know now, Fortas' nomination had to be withdrawn. Fortas was embarrassed. Warren was embarrassed. There was a splash of speculation about how Nixon, once in, would have a quick chance to remold the court, starting, of course, with Warren.

But it was forgotten that Nixon has developed into a man who refuses to act in haste on key appointments. And while he certainly cherishes hopes that while President he can make a lot of Supreme Court changes, he is ready to be patient.

This is a wise course anyway. There have been too many hasty presidential judgments about the Supreme Court caliber of potential jurists. It is most unlikely, for example, that Ike had any idea that Earl Warren was such an all-out liberal, with great persuasive powers, when he named him chief justice in 1953.

Neither was it expected that two of Ike's other Supreme Court nominees—Justices John M. Harlan and William J. Brennan—would turn out to be more in Warren's liberal corner than the middle of the road. Only Potter Stewart, of Ike's choices, ran true to specifications. He remained generally, but not always, conservative.

For that matter, John F. Kennedy had only a 50-50 record in his effort to sustain the Warren brand of liberalism on the court. He picked Arthur Goldberg and Byron (Whizzer) White. And White hasn't been a whiz, while Goldberg left under LBJ.

Of course, Nixon's ultimate selection of a Warren successor will be a highly significant appointment, and probably his first as well. But under the law of averages, Nixon will most likely have the opportunity to name two other justices in his first term, as Hugo L. Black is 82, and William O. Douglas, who is 70, is operating with a Pacemaker for his heart.

Thus the prospect is that three middle-of-the-road, Nixon-named jurists will take the place of the trio of justices with strong liberal bents. But how can Nixon be sure? He cannot be, of course, but he can at least be very, very careful in sizing up the past records of possible nominees. And this takes time, plenty of use of the computer method plus presidential patience, which appears already to be a Nixon attribute as reflected by his slowness in forming even the nucleus of a Cabinet.

Yet the guessing game about who Nixon wants on the court has already started. The names are relatively unimportant at this stage, except as they suggest that his advisers think he wants to build a court with a conservative majority. There is, for example, United States Court of Appeals Judge Henry Friendly and New York State Judge Stanley Fuld, along with Tom Dewey and Herbert Brownell.

What these names mean at this time is virtually nothing except that on the record all shape up as cautious types inclined to keep the court on a restricted track, away from controversy either with Congress or the public, and thus back in the cloisters from whence Warren led his black-robed colleagues, beginning in 1953.

The effort to shape the court in this way is clearly in Nixon's mind. It suggests that he considers the court essentially a political institution. It is, of course, despite all that aura of lofty objectivity about the nine justices.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon at right).

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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Capital Briefs

● **Anti-Nixon bias** in the media? From Gloria Steinem's "Post-Election Diary" in "New York" magazine: "Sunday: I keep meeting members of the New York reporting and TV commentating elite who are sorry—sorry they overestimated the country's move to the right, sorry that Humphrey lost, sorry they didn't know they'd be sorry Humphrey lost; sorry about everything."

● **Richard Kleindienst** has reportedly been slated as Solicitor General in the new administration. Kleindienst, a key staffer in the 1964 Goldwater campaign, occupied a top post in this year's Nixon drive. Phoenix newsmen said last week that lawyer Kleindienst sought, and had apparently been assured, the Justice Department post.

● Knee deep in trouble, **John Lindsay** apparently wants out as mayor of New York. Lindsay, according to Nixon staffers, has been begging for a job with the new Administration.

● Robert Finch, a close Nixon adviser, has been telling friends that **Tom Dewey**—if not selected for secretary of state or attorney general—may wind up in the job now held by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover, however, has been saying that he has no intention of retiring.

● Dr. **Glenn Olds**, a chief talent scout for the Nixon Administration, continues his liberal ways. Having previously suggested that Nixon tap LBJ-rejects Robert McNamara and Arthur Goldberg for the Cabinet, Olds has also recommended that the President-elect bring George Ball back into the government. According to one high-level Nixon source, "Olds is a nice guy, but Nixon could set up an extreme left-wing Administration if he followed many of Olds' recommendations."

● Another Nixon talent-scout who worries conservatives: **Harry Flemming**, son of former HEW head Arthur Flemming. Harry, according to those who know him well, is an out-and-out liberal who actually preferred Rockefeller to Nixon.

● Former California Gov. **Edmund G. (Pat) Brown**, defeated by Ronald Reagan by almost one million votes two years ago, is considering a comeback. Brown announced coyly last week that a group of Los Angeles citizens wants him to run for mayor next fall, adding that a "real good draft" could get him in the race. Others interested in the campaign against incumbent Sam Yorty, a maverick Democrat: Representatives Thomas Rees (D.) and Alphonzo Bell (R).

● George Gallup's pollsters have found in post-election analysis that "it was the swing of **labor union members** to Vice President Humphrey in the final days of the campaign that almost put him over the top on November 5."

● Pollster **Lou Harris** reported last week that 70 per cent of the American people consider themselves conservative or middle-of-the-road, while only 17 per cent of the electorate were willing to classify themselves as liberal. Also, George Gallup revealed that Richard Nixon carried a hefty 54 per cent of the college-educated vote to 37 per cent of the vote for Humphrey, with George Wallace picking up the remaining 9 per cent.

● State Sen. **Coleman Young**, a powerful figure in Michigan politics and a Democratic National Committeeman recently endorsed the pro-Communist Montreal Conference to end the war in Viet Nam. Young took the 5th Amendment in 1952 when HCUA members queried him about alleged Communist activities (see Human Events, October 5, page 10).

● Nixon's appointment of Dr. **Lee DuBridge** of the California Institute of Technology to be his White House science adviser is considered a better selection than many he could have made, but conservatives are not at all happy with the fact that DuBridge will probably not cut down on federal spending boondoggles and that he made a forthright defense of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer after Oppenheimer had admitted having lied to federal officials about security matters.

● The conservative-oriented group (the "Syndicate") which has all but controlled the Young Republican National Federation (YRNF) for the past decade, has settled on national YR Vice-Chairman **Jim Staples** as its candidate for the YR chairmanship. Although delegates to the YRNF convention next summer must vote on the post, Syndicate candidates have had little difficulty in getting elected in the past—and Staples, an articulate conservative businessman from Georgia, should be no exception.

● In the 24-hour period between 8 a.m. Tuesday, December 3, and 8 a.m. Wednesday, December 4, there were a total of **63 robberies** in the District of Columbia, over half of them involving guns. This was indicative, say Washington police officials, of an alarming rise in armed robberies in the Nation's Capital; during all of November 1968 there were 605 cases of armed robberies reported, compared with 520 in November of last year.

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The Kissinger Appointment

President-elect Richard Nixon's selection of Prof. Henry A. Kissinger of Harvard University to be his special assistant for national security affairs—a sort of Walt Rostow of the Nixon Administration—has been generally greeted with cautious optimism by foreign policy experts who want the new Administration to develop a tougher line toward the Communist world.

KISSINGER

Admirers of the professor, in fact, describe him as a "soft-spoken hawk." Goldwater adviser Prof. Robert Strausz-Hupe, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Pennsylvania, has warmly praised Kissinger, stressing that he advocates a firm posture toward Communist expansionist tendencies. Tough-minded friends of the professor say that he takes a much "harder line" in private than in public and that he has told conservative friends of his he doesn't expect to be welcomed back to the academic community following his stint with Nixon.

Indeed, the relative hawkishness of his position can be gauged by the fact that Richard V. Allen, a hard-line anti-Communist from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, believes that Kissinger is "solid" and feels he will find no difficulty in serving as Kissinger's principal White House assistant.

Not all conservatives, it is conceded, are enchanted with the professor. Many are wary because of his close ties to Rockefeller and the Council on Foreign Relations (the latter being a liberal-oriented group which, however, includes a number of conservatives). He is also distrusted because some of his more liberal Harvard colleagues—who have been sharply critical of him privately—publicly praised his appointment. As one disgruntled conservative remarked, "A man who is handed accolades by Adam Yarmolinsky and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., can't be all good."

Nevertheless, the major opinion of foreign policy experts in the conservative community is that Kissinger will pursue a realistic approach in the face of Communist strategy. An indication of this can not only be seen in his private conversations, but his public writings.

Kissinger, for example, has suggested throughout his works that the U.S. and the free world ought to take a tougher line toward the Communists. To carry out this objective, he has advocated a strengthened NATO, military superiority for the West and the courage to use tactical nuclear weapons, under certain conditions, even in limited wars.

A close reading of some of his books—*Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* and *The Troubled Partnership*—reveals his views are really not at all akin to those held by the liberal academic world from which he springs. In these volumes he declares the West should not just settle for a stalemate when battling with the Communists. Regarding Korea, he criticizes our "purely defensive" bombing and strongly suggests he would have preferred to inflict a much greater defeat on the North Koreans than was actually done.

Despite his Harvard training, Kissinger is also sharply critical of policies that would create coalition governments with extreme leftists. This "opening to the left" policy was pushed by the Kennedy Administration on Italy. Instead of isolating out-and-out Communists, as it was supposed to do, notes Kissinger, the "opening to the left" in Italy "undermined the center and opened the way to respectability for the Communists."

All across the board, it would seem, Kissinger advocates a firmer anti-Communist foreign policy. Whether his views will be translated into action remains to be seen.

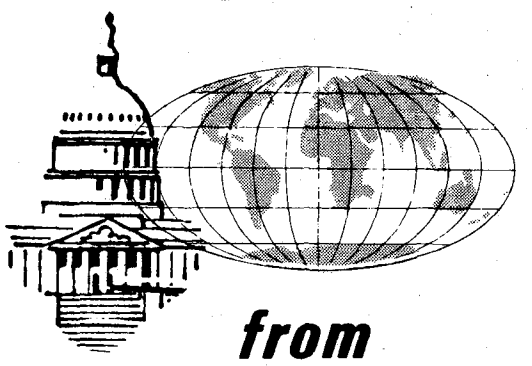
Nixon's New Economic Adviser

In naming Paul W. McCracken as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Nixon appears to have selected a man who is more middle-of-the-road than many conservatives would have preferred. Aside from this, there is the feeling that McCracken suffers from the fact that he is another "textbook" economist, one drawn from the academic community rather than the field of business.

Nevertheless, the University of Michigan professor should be an asset in helping a Nixon Administration stem the inflationary pressures threatening the economy. McCracken appears determined to slash federal spending and the budget deficits and slow down the expansion rate of the money supply. In addition, he has called for the Congress to set up machinery that would give it greater control over the budget.

McCracken believes that by getting the price level under control, we can also stem the deficits in our balance of payments. "If we do not straighten out our dollar problem," he insists, "we are going to find ourselves pushed further and further down the road of trade controls, and toward a less and less liberal international trading system."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from Inside Washington

LBJ 'Surprise Package' Thwarted

There seems to be far more than meets the eye in Richard Nixon's decision to permit Earl Warren to remain chief justice until the current Supreme Court term ends in June 1969.

WARREN

Ronald Ziegler, Nixon's press spokesman, told reporters that the President-elect called Warren in Washington on Tuesday, December 3, and said he wanted him to stay on so as to avoid any disruption of the court's work. Warren then agreed to withdraw his request to retire at the pleasure of the President, a request he had submitted to LBJ on June 13. That, seemingly, was that.

But as *Human Events* has been able to piece together reports from Capitol Hill, one of Nixon's chief reasons for extending Warren's stay on the court was to stave off a probable move by LBJ to ram his own replacement for Warren through the Senate.

According to well-placed sources in Washington, Nixon caught wind of the fact that the President, still burning over the Senate's failure to confirm his old crony Abe Fortas for chief justice, was eager to make a new appointment before he left office. The White House was reported ready to achieve this through the devious route of convening a special session of Congress in December, ostensibly to get the Senate to act only on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

But the master magician at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue was also plotting to spring a surprise package on the senators: a new name for the chief justice post. The President's choice: former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg (though whether Goldberg, himself, had assented to the idea is not yet clear).

The White House had every reason to believe that the Senate would not turn its back on Goldberg the way it had on Fortas. For one thing, Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), who had helped spearhead the anti-Fortas fight, repeatedly declared during that hassle that he would have approved of Goldberg's selection. For another, Goldberg had been previously confirmed by the Senate and was not nearly so controversial as Fortas.

Finally, many of the senators who were opposed to Fortas were hit hard with charges of anti-Semitism. For any solon to oppose both Fortas and Goldberg would have been to invite the wrath of much of the Jewish community.

In order to scuttle this eleventh-hour maneuver by LBJ, Nixon decided it would be best to get Warren to agree to stay on the court until LBJ leaves office and Nixon can pick his own chief justice. As Ted Lewis points out in the cover story, Warren's remaining until June in no way changes Nixon's basic determination to create a new court with a more conservative philosophy.

ACU Urges Party Label Switch

The American Conservative Union, headed by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), has issued a statement calling for Southern Democrats to switch to the GOP label for the purpose of creating a "new conservative majority" in the Congress.

In order for President Richard Nixon to have the necessary congressional support, said the ACU, "we call upon conservative Democrats in Congress to repudiate the party which has repudiated them. We ask these Democratic conservatives to follow the example of Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and switch their party affiliation.

"In this way the Republican party can organize the Congress when it convenes next month. If 26 conservative Democrats in the House have the courage of their stated convictions, a 'new conservative majority' can be created in Congress. At the same time, we believe that Republicans should guarantee full seniority rights for any Democrats who wish to change parties."

The ACU's statement is not necessarily wishful thinking. Former Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway of Georgia, who managed much of Nixon's campaign in the South, is currently going around the country to persuade responsible Southern Democrats to take up the GOP label. Callaway had some excellent success this year, when his efforts helped to swing over five top Georgia Democrats to the Republican party.

Regardless of whether the Republicans are able to organize the new Congress, the ACU also strongly urges "conservative members of Congress to unite in a formal 'Conservative Caucus' which would provide an organized basis for achievement of conservative legislative goals. Such a caucus should be fully supported by an expert staff."

The ACU adds that a number of liberal groups exist in Congress "such as the Wednesday Club and the Democratic Study Group. We believe that it is time that conservatives overcame their timidity and formed a 'Conservative Caucus' immediately."

Rat Control a Flop

Whatever happened to the federal rat control program? You remember—back in July 1967, Congress narrowly defeated a $40-million, two-year rat control program, only to be struck by the wrath of the "people" (i.e., LBJ and the press) and shamed into finally approving the measure, because it was so "vital" and "immediately needed." What has happened to it? Nothing.

First off, the Public Health Service (PHS) has had trouble getting local communities interested in partaking of the federal largess for rat control, frequently because cities already had similar programs.

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Finally, some 47 metropolitan governments did apply for funds. The PHS then adjudged their program outlines and decided which ones were most deserving—"we rank-ordered them," as the PHS bureaucrats put it.

The next problem was to get LBJ's Bureau of the Budget to release the $20 million in rat control funds Congress had appropriated for fiscal 1969. The reluctant budgeteers, pleading economy, finally alloted $15 million for rat control in '69. Sometime next year—two years after initial passage—a few of the 47 applicant-communities will actually have federal rat control funds in their hands.

And that's what has happened to the "essential" rat control program. Perhaps, as so many conservatives in Congress insisted, the rats could have been eliminated by the localities themselves in half the time with a quarter of the money.

Academic Freedom at MIT

Years ago novelist Thomas Wolfe answered the question of whether or not you can go home again, but presidential adviser Walt Whitman Rostow has just had the answer reaffirmed for him. Rostow came to Washington in 1960 as an economic adviser to President Kennedy, receiving a leave of absence from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he had been a long-time liberal professor of economics.

ROSTOW

Rostow stayed on at the White House when Lyndon Johnson took office, resigning his position at MIT and eventually becoming one of LBJ's closest foreign policy advisers and strongest advocates of the U.S. course in Viet Nam. Now that he is due to leave the White House, Rostow thought it would be pleasant to return to the academic community at MIT.

But the residents of that community, supreme advocates of "academic freedom" all, had other ideas—namely anti-Viet Nam ideas. Officials at MIT deny that Rostow's policy positions had anything to do with his application for return being refused, as they argue he is no longer associated with economics and therefore has no value as a member of the economics faculty.

Well, then, Rostow associates inquired, would MIT like to have him teach in some other field, say world politics? No thanks, said MIT. The Rostow advocates next visited Harvard University, another bastion of academic freedom in the Boston-Cambridge intellectual community; Harvard was not interested either.

So, come spring, Walt Whitman Rostow will be found teaching at the University of Texas in Austin, where the Viet Nam war is a little bit more acceptable than in Cambridge.

This episode, writes James Reston in the New York *Times*, "raises a fundamental question: Is a man to be punished for beliefs held in the public service, if those beliefs happen to be unpopular in some university circles?" That would be a good topic for an intellectuals' seminar at, say, MIT or Harvard.

Kansas State Ousts NSA

This past summer the annual National Student Association (NSA) Congress was held on the campus of Kansas State University in Manhattanville, Kan. (see *Human Events*, Sept. 14, 1968, page 12). This past November 20 Kansas State University became the first college during the current fall semester to disaffiliate with the National Student Association.

By a margin of 4 to 1—3,731 to 943—students at the university voted in a campus-wide referendum to have their school disassociate itself from the radical NSA, as have some 100 other schools in the past. It was, reported the student newspaper, what "may be a record number of votes in any K-State election for referendum."

The campaign to oust NSA was led by Kansas State members of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and College Young Republicans (CYR), under the aegis of the STOP-NSA committee (Students to Oppose Participation in the National Student Association). The young conservatives distributed literature documenting such national NSA political positions as advocating admission of Red China to the U.N., condemnation of U.S. participation in the war in Viet Nam, support of achieving "Black Power" by "any means necessary," and championing of Student Power *a la* Columbia.

KSU student Robert Fyfe, leader of both YAF and STOP-NSA, commented after the landslide election, "The majority of KSU students are not conservative, but moderate, and they have no use for Student Power in the tradition of Columbia and Berkeley. And after having had the Congress here, NSA proponents found it impossible to convince students that NSA is not radical."

On the opposite side, the referendum result was doubly embarrassing for KSU student body President Robert Morrow. He had just been appointed midwest coordinator for NSA, only to see NSA tossed off his campus by the biggest margin by which it has been kicked off any major U.S. campus. The KSU students "voted as they did because they didn't understand or have the time to do research to understand," rationalized the NSA's "man without a country."

Free 'Pueblo' Sailors Campaign

A coast-to-coast campaign has been launched to secure government action in behalf of the 82 captured crew members of the *U.S.S. Pueblo*. The New York-based National Committee for Responsible Patriotism announced last week that it was seeking more than one million signatures on petitions pledging support for "any honorable action" that Washington takes to free the crewmen, who have languished in North Korean jails for nearly a year.

A highlight of the campaign will be a New York-to-Washington motorcade December 14 that boasts the support of fraternal and veteran groups. Petitions will be delivered to the White House, a visit will be made to the office of President-elect Nixon and a program has been scheduled for the Sylvan Amphitheatre near the Washington Monument. For information, contact the committee's executive director, Charles W. Wiley (109 East 42nd St., New York City, 212-684-0640).

A Compassionate View of 'Che'

A major Hollywood studio, 20th Century Fox, is shelling out millions for a cinematic epic lionizing the fanatic Communist guerrilla, Che Guevara.

GUEVARA

Those behind the film make no bones that it is tribute to Guevara, who was killed last year leading an insurrection in Bolivia. "If at the end of this thing you have compassion for this man I'll be very happy," says director Richard Fleischer, whose other films include "The Boston Strangler." "Che was an idealist who died for his ideals, and to me that's a heroic thing."

Matinee idol Omar Sharif, who plays Che, and others in the cast say the film will stress these supposed Guevara qualities: idealism, dedication, courage, intelligence and incorruptibility.

"A whole younger generation is anti-American," Sharif said last week. "Not anti-American but anti-Establishment American, and Che Guevara is the ultimate anti-Establishment figure. All over the world they have come to believe this is a correct position to take."

The film, to be called "Che!", is being shot in Hollywood and Puerto Rico, and will include lurid "atrocities" allegedly committed by pro-American dictator Fulgencio Batista but acted out by professional stunt men. Patriots are hung from village squares, helpless women are clubbed to the streets, teen-agers are cruelly tortured. No shots of Castro or Guevara atrocities are included.

Perhaps Sharif knew what he was talking about when he told *Newsweek*'s Joseph Morgenstern: "To say the film is 100 per cent honest is absurd. It's being made by a bunch of capitalists."

Behind Hijack Highjinks

A pro-Castro terrorist group operating in this country was linked last week to the hijacking of American planes to Cuba.

FBI agents arrested two leaders of the New York-based Puerto Rican Liberation Movement and charged them with conspiracy in the November 24 hijacking of a Pan American jet that was seized at gunpoint and routed to Havana.

The alleged conspirators, Alejandro Figueroa and David Gonzalez, were charged with a variety of crimes, including kidnapping and piracy. Four others have been charged, but they are believed in Cuba at this time.

FBI spokesmen identified the Liberation Movement as a recently formed group whose "political and revolutionary goals are based on Marxist and Leninist principles." Members are committed to violence in the struggle to oust "American imperialists" from the island commonwealth.

Although the indictment last week dealt only with one hijacking, a reliable source said that "the evidence is clear that other hijackings have also involved American-based Castroites."

Poverty Under LBJ

After four years of multi-billion-dollar annual expenditures, and enough publicity releases to fill the seven seas, it has now been discovered that the Administration's "War on Poverty" has actually reduced real poverty *less* than did the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations. This is the conclusion reached from dramatic figures just released by the new Center for Policy Research, headed by the respected Columbia University sociologist Dr. Amitai Etzioni.

Between 1964, the poverty war's inaugural year, and 1966, the center's statistics show, the number of families with an annual income of less than $3,000 (the official "poverty line"), declined by 1.05 per cent. However, between 1949 and 1952 (under the Truman presidency) there was a decline of 1.6 per cent and in the first Eisenhower years, 1952-56, the drop was 1.15 per cent. Additionally, in 1950, '51, '55 and '56, the decline was 2 per cent or over; the greatest decline under the "War on Poverty" has been 1.2 per cent in 1966.

Dr. Etzioni believes the reason for the poor showing under the poverty war is due to an over-emphasis on "changing people" rather than lifting them out of poverty. "The main recent thrust has been on community action, organizing the poor, etcetera," says the sociologist. "I'm all for education, housing, mental health, medical clinics, but they don't necessarily get people out of poverty."

To correct this approach, Dr. Etzioni believes the major focus should be on economic expansion and programs involving private industry aimed at getting people jobs. President-elect Nixon has proposed just such private sector projects, employing tax credits to induce industry to recruit and train the jobless.

Etzioni contends that "it will take more than 51 years to win the 'unconditional war' on poverty," and proposes a $10-billion annual budget to accomplish this. Included on the Etzioni poverty agenda are a national program of anti-poverty insurance which would pay the insured when their income falls off, continuation of the Job Corps and "subsidizing employers to hire the poor."

• Contacted about the Center for Policy Research poverty statistics, officials at the Office of Economic Opportunity did not dispute their accuracy but argued "they don't tell the whole story." The Administration recently released its version of the poverty drop-off, showing a lower percentage of poverty-level families than the center's statistics.

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'Dissent' in Chicago

That Walker Report

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

To judge from long excerpts printed in the local press, last week's report on the convulsions in Chicago last August is a generally fair and factual account of what happened. Yet the report begins with the statement of a fundamental fallacy that ought not to be passed by.

This is the opening paragraph of the report of the staff of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence:

"The right of dissent is fundamental to democracy. But the expression of that right has become one of the most serious problems in contemporary democratic government. That dilemma was dramatized in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention of 1968—the dilemma of a city coping with the expression of dissent."

Permit me respectfully to disagree. Granted that the right of dissent is fundamental to our free society, it does not follow that what happened in Chicago was an "expression of dissent." It was something quite different, and we ought to keep that difference clear in our minds.

The right of dissent that merits our vigilant protection is embodied in the 1st Amendment to the Constitution. We are not to be subject to any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." The preservation of a free nation demands that the amendment be given broad scope and generous interpretation. Dissent – valid dissent—must never be suppressed.

The error lies in the implication that the Chicago demonstrators were engaged in nothing more than an "expression of dissent." If this were true, then the police were utterly in the wrong. Was it true?

Prior to the Democratic convention, the Yippies themselves provided a clear insight into their thinking upon the forms of dissent. It was proposed to dump hallucinating drugs into the Chicago reservoirs; to stage a mass stall-in of old jalopies in order to disrupt traffic; to flood sewers with gasoline and burn the city; to slash tires along the city's freeways; to scatter razor sharp three-inch nails along the highways; to place underground agents in hotel kitchens where they could drug food and drink; to turn on fire hydrants and spread false alarms of fires.

This thinking manifested itself at Chicago in such forms of "dissent" as these: Attacking police with stones, bottles, and other weapons; hurling paper cups filled with urine and feces; smashing the windows of automobiles; wantonly damaging parked cars; overturning trash cans; disrupting traffic; forcing bystanders off the sidewalks; shouting obscenities at the police; setting off stink bombs in the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

It is ludicious to suggest that this criminal conduct was in any way whatever an "expression of dissent." It was not free speech, not free press, not peaceable assembly. The dilemma as defined by the commission's staff was not the dilemma that confronted Chicago. The problem was rather in coping with massive public disorder deliberately fomented by young revolutionaries who had no intention of respecting law or public safety.

This is not to condone the outrageous behavior of some of the Chicago police. The staff report abundantly documents repeated incidents of police brutality directed not at the lawless demonstrators, but at innocent bystanders and members of the press. There is far greater danger to freedom in the bad cop than in the young anarchist. Those portions of the report that deal with the "police riot" cannot be read without a sense of profound disquietude. Surely means must be devised for the swift dismissal and punishment of police who abuse their power.

When that has been firmly said, however, the point remains: Dissent is one thing; smashing windshields is something else. A free society, if it would remain free, cannot afford to confuse the two.

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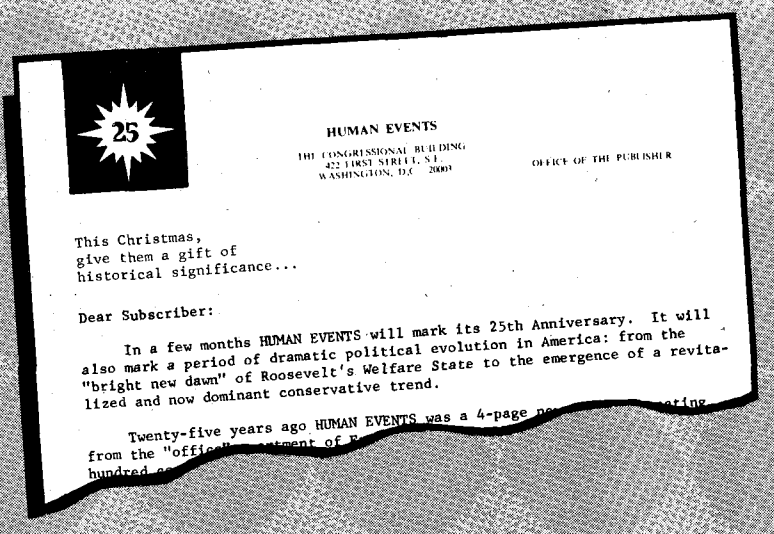
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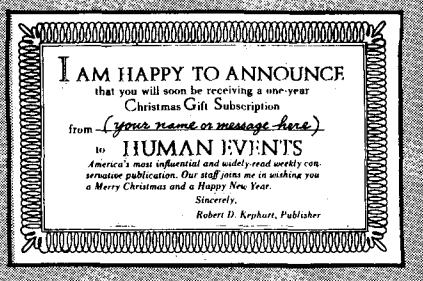
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Too Many Mouths to Feed?

Let's stop blaming economic failure on population growth

By ELGIN GROSECLOSE

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly*, Nov. 18, 1968

Failure of the foreign aid program to justify the billions it has cost has brought forth one excuse after another. The latest whipping boy is the "population explosion." Thus, the president of the World Bank (in an address to the recent annual meeting) declared: "Recent studies show the crippling effect of a high rate of population increase on economic growth in any developing country."

A phenomenon of human nature is the ease with which strong minds and mighty intellects can be carried away by an emotional issue into absurdities of reason and logic. Theorists have succeeded in raising the population question to the status of a threat to human survival as menacing as that of atomic fission. As with the medieval Manichees, procreation has become with them a sin, a multiplication of human evil.

Under the influence of a statistic, hurled like bolts from our intellectual Joves, healthy and well-circumstanced couples are being persuaded against conscience that they should not procreate.

The purpose of the following discussion is to examine the so-called "population explosion" in relation to the foreign aid program, and not in relation to its theological aspects.

We begin with an inquiry into the premises of the thesis. Robert S. McNamara, in the speech cited above, went on to say: "World population totaled only one-quarter billion in the 1st Century A.D. and required 1,650 years to add another quarter billion. It added one billion in the next 200 years; a second billion in the following century, and a third billion in the next 30 years."

Just what computer the World Bank uses to arrive at this conclusion is not stated, but simple arithmetic indicates that the statement treats events in the 21st Century as though they were history.

The 1st Century A.D. extended from 1 A.D. to 100 A.D. Taking the median figure of 50 A.D. and adding the centuries referred to carries us to the year 2030 A.D. But more serious errors of assumption are made.

Upon what data do these pronouncements rest? The first responsibility of a user of statistics is to examine their basis of reliability. Though the Roman emperors occasionally took a census for tax purposes, regular population counts are a modern development. The first periodic census is generally regarded as that instituted in French Canada in 1665, though some authorities consider the U.S. census of 1790 as the beginning of modern census taking.

Moreover, based upon the fragmentary data given by contemporary historians, there is ground to believe that the ancient world known to us (i.e., the Mediterranean littoral)—the only part of the globe for which we have any reliable data—may have been more densely populated than today. Josephus, in his account of the Jewish Wars, states that the census of Jerusalem taken by the priests for the Emperor Nero gave a Passover population of the city as 2.72 million—a population it has not known since (Bk. VI, Ch. 9). At Passover, of course, Jerusalem was filled with visitors, but the figure given by Josephus is only of those ritually purified and partaking of the Passover.

The Old Testament—Numbers I, 45 and 46—records that Moses took a census of the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai and found the number of males of 20 years and older, able to bear arms, to be 603,550, a figure which did not include the tribe of Levi. The wilderness of Sinai does not support such a population today, nor has it for a thousand years, but the archeological researches of Glueck indicate that throughout classical times, the now barren and desolate Negev, or southern Palestine, maintained a substantial population, as evidenced by the remains of cities and water works.

Travelers across the now-desert plain of Mesopotamia will observe here and there great mounds—tells—the ruins of ancient cities, still untouched by archeological spade, testifying to teeming and apparently prosperous populations. Justin Martyr, writing in the 2nd Century A.D., quotes a letter of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius to the Roman Senate telling how his five legions, in the heart of Germany, were surrounded and attacked by an army of 997,000 Alemanni —a larger army than this area witnessed until the 20th Century. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, Xerxes, in the 5th Century B.C., moved 2.641 million troops across the Hellespont, plus an equal number of camp followers.

So much for statistics. Let us turn now to the assertion of the "crippling effect of a high rate of population increase on economic growth in any developing country."

All countries, of course, are either developing or retrogressing. The difference lies in the rate. The most rapidly developing country in modern times, for which reliable estimates are available, is the United States. Studies by Prof. Raymond W. Goldsmith, leading authority on wealth estimates, indicates that between 1850 and 1956, total reproducible tangible assets of the U.S. increased in value (in current dollars) from $4.5 billion to $1,200 billion, or by 26,566 per cent, and in stable (1929) dollars, from $10.8 billion to approximately $450 billion, or 4,166 per cent. In this interval, population increased from 23.2 million to 168 million, or 624 per cent.

Now, according to the rather confusing statistics in the McNamara address, the world population in the same interval increased from 1.5 billion to 2.5 billion. In other words, while world population was increasing by 66 per cent, U.S. population rose some 624 per cent, yet this did not prevent the national wealth of the U.S. from rising some 4,166 per cent. Rather, it was the cause of the increase in national wealth.

To take a more recent period, between 1947 and 1967, according to the Population Reference Bureau, the population of Asia increased from 1,237 million to 1,900 million, or by 53.5 per cent. In the same interval, the U.S. population increased from 144.7 million to 198.8 million, a 37.5 per cent increase. However, in the U.S., gross national product increased from $234 billion to $785 billion, or some 235 per cent, a rate which disputes the theory that population increase is inimical to economic progress.

Possibly even more striking an example of both despair about a rising population and its rapid absorption by economic growth is furnished by the recent history of the Federal Republic of Germany.

After World War II, the American, British and French occupation zones of what has become its territory received a huge flood of expellees from Czechoslovakia (Sudeten Germans) and from those parts of former Eastern Germany which the Soviet Union and Poland annexed. While there is no exact count of this massive migration, it generally is put at somewhere between seven and nine million. Twenty years ago, contemporary observers wondered how so many men, women and children possibly could be supported by a devastated land. As of 1968, however, the Bonn Republic fully employs not only its working population but also over a million foreigners. The fears of the latter '40s long since have been forgotten.

All the foregoing leads to the basic error in the population explosion thesis. It is the misconception, strange in one so supposedly versed in business management as Mr. McNamara, of the sources of wealth. The basic axiom of economics—both classical and Marxian —is that wealth is the product of labor. The mineral resources of the earth are not wealth until human effort has been exerted, either to discover or extract them.

A tree standing in a forest becomes wealth when it has been felled by human labor, sawed, planed and fashioned into a table, armchair or other useful article. Throughout the ages—until the current era of statistics-worship—population has been regarded as the foremost source of wealth; the prime object of rulers and governments has been to attract and increase the number of their people. Density of population and rising population historically have been the mark of a prosperous, vital civilization.

City populations, dense as they are, traditionally have enjoyed living standards higher than the sparsely populated rural areas. The densely populated countries of Europe, and those with increasing populations, enjoy higher per capita wealth and living standards than more sparsely populated countries. Contrasts may be made between the thickly populated Netherlands and Belgium, with their increasing population, and Ireland with its static and low density population. Similar contrasts can be made between northern Italy and southern Italy.

If there were any merit to the logic that population increase cripples economic growth, the inhabitants of the Sahara would be better circumstanced than those of France, and a policy of population extermination, like that practiced by the Mongols in the Middle East, should be recommended.

To attribute the slow progress of the developing countries to population increase misses the point. Per capita progress can be achieved only through increase in per capita productivity. A more objective view would see in foreign aid the very cause of the stagnation of per capita income and wealth, since foreign aid is a process of substituting foreign-created wealth and productivity for internally generated wealth and productivity.

Finally, to blame the failure of foreign aid on the "population explosion" ignores the many local remedies for the food imbalances attainable through individual effort.

An example is India, where the suffering of recent years has been caused less by actual food deficiency than by government withholding of supplies from the market and hoarding, both by individual farmers and by regional governments. The abundant harvest of last year exposed the farce of government regulation in the remark attributed to one official, bewailing the shortage of storage space, that the government "might now be compelled to distribute food to the people instead of warehousing it."

The woes of the Indian people are tragic and pitiful, but it is the shallowest thinking to propose that they can be solved simply by fewer people. The quantity of suffering might be less, but the degree would diminish not a whit.

In a sentimental lather over the Indian population problem, theorists have persuaded the U.S. Congress to support a program of human sterilization in that country, yet none has urged a more logical solution of the food problem—that of sterilizing some of the 200 million scrawny cattle that roam the countryside, their main economic significance being as a status symbol of material wealth to their starving and impecunious masters. Little is being done about the rat population, protected by religious and cultural taboos, that eat up a possible one-third of the Indian crops.

The "population explosion" argument is equally fatuous in the light of scientific achievements in agriculture, and in the potentials of the sea as a source of food. When the principal wheat-growing countries of the world have banded together in solemn agreement to restrict production, one must question the intellectual honesty of government theorists and planners who bewail the population increase.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture's recent study of the world food situation, looking ahead as far as 1980, sees a continuing surplus of grain, given a return to cultivation in the U.S. of only half the acreage removed from such use since the end of World War II.

In the 20 years 1947-1967, the corn crop of the U.S. more than doubled, from 2.1 billion bushels to 4.7 billion bushels, cropped from an acreage that dropped from 73.8 million acres to 60.4 million acres. These yields would indicate to an agronomist that conditions were favorable to corn production. In Westchester County, N.Y., the deer population has multiplied in recent years, along with a multiplying suburban population. It would appear that these phenomena testify to favorable conditions for the existence of both species.

Throughout the world, where population is increasing, the reasonable deduction is that conditions are favorable for the existence and propagation of the species. If population were declining, as it did in the latter years of the Roman Empire, or as it did in the Middle East following the Mongol invasion, or as it did in Europe following the Black Death, there might be genuine cause for alarm.

Mr. Groseclose is head of Groseclose, Williams & Co., financial and investment consultants in Washington, D.C. He is the author of Fifty Years of Managed Money *and* Money and Man. *This article was reprinted with author's permission.*

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Congressional Opposition Mounting

No Free Ride for Adam Clayton Powell

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Adam Clayton Powell is kidding himself if he thinks he'll have a free ride in regaining his House seat when the new (91st) Congress convenes January 3.

The flamboyant Harlemite will definitely be stopped from taking the oath of office.

Both Democratic and Republican members are ready and waiting to demand he "step aside" when he seeks induction with the other 434 House members at the opening session. Only one such challenge is necessary to bar him—and it will positively be raised.

Foremost among those prepared to do so is Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), veteran economy advocate and tough scrapper.

Gross is not only set to block Powell from being sworn in, but to raise the question of his seating at the Republican caucus on January 2. Gross wants to make the matter a party issue on the ground:

"Powell is utterly unqualified for membership in the Congress. He con-

If Adam Clayton Powell gets back into the 91st Congress, it won't be with the help of Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa).

spired by fraud and forgery to obtain thousands of dollars of government funds, much of which he converted to his personal use. Not even the investigating committee knows how much more than $40,000 he obtained or caused to be spent illegally.

"In its report, the special investigating committee said that Powell brought 'into disrepute the House of Representatives and its members.' That report stands unchanged. It is as valid as it was nearly two years ago, and it is a sad commentary on the state of the Union that there are those in high places who seek to protect this character."

Gross led the 1967 fight that kicked Powell out of the House by an overwhelming 307 to 116 after the investigating committee recommended he be seated on condition he repaid $40,000 in misappropriated funds, was stripped of all seniority and publicly censured by the Speaker.

Powell was willing to accept these stiff terms, but a 3-to-1 majority of the House was not. He was unceremoniously ousted.

Virtually the same House will reassemble on January 3. With a few exceptions the legislators who waged the battle against Powell two years ago will be on hand determined to again thwart his seating.

That's why those press and other reports that Powell faces little difficulty in regaining his seat are either stupid, ignorant or inspired propaganda. Far from the "odds favoring him" (one boxcar headline), the opposite is the case. He may get back into the House, but he faces a difficult uphill fight.

Three factors are largely the reason for the backstage antipathy toward Powell among rank-and-file House members:

- The failure of the flashy, bombastic Harlemite to do anything about repaying the $40,000 the special investigating committee held he had purloined from the government.
- The Johnson Administration's prolonged stalling on prosecuting Powell. It is known the Justice Department conducted an extensive grand jury probe of his operations and recommended legal action. But President Johnson has held it up—it is widely believed for political reasons.
- The Supreme Court's recent acceptance of an appeal by Powell from decisions of two lower courts upholding the right of the House to bar him. Both a federal district and a circuit court ruled the House has the constitutional right to determine its own membership. The willingness of the Supreme Court—already under harsh fire in Congress—to consider an appeal from these verdicts has further outraged legislators.

All these grievances are caustically stressed in a statement by Rep. Gross bluntly announcing his intention to again lead the fight to exclude Powell.

"If leaders of the House fail to demand that Powell step aside and not be administered the oath of office," said the resolute Iowan, "I will make that request, for nothing has been changed in the record which shows that Powell defrauded the government of at least $40,000. . . .This is only one area of the Harlem congressman's manipulations, but it is sufficient to convince me that the only adequate punishment for Powell is to vote him out of Congress permanently.

"Now comes the Supreme Court to intervene in patently what is none of its business, for the Constitution says: 'Each house shall be the judge of the election, returns and qualifications of its own members. . . .Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.'

"Two lower federal courts ruled that under the constitutional doctrine of separation of powers, the federal courts have no jurisdiction to hear Powell's suit. Moreover, since Powell's appeal from the adverse lower court decisions was made months ago, why did the Supreme Court take so long to announce it would hear the case? Did it deliberately wait until after the November 5 election?"

Gross was equally unsparing regarding Atty. Gen. Clark's failure to "prosecute the high-flying, whisky-drinking Reverend Powell." The outspoken Iowa lawmaker blasted both Clark and Powell.

"The evidence accumulated by two House investigating committees was turned over to the Justice Department early in 1967," he said, "a grand jury was summoned, and it served subpoenas on the clerk of the House as well as other employes in June 1967. What happened to that grand jury? The Justice Department has the effrontery to say the case is still under investigation.

"If a common, garden-variety federal employe—a postal clerk or carrier or any other employe—grabbed $400, not $40,000 or more as Powell did—his or her hide would have been nailed to the jail door months ago. How many standards of justice are there in the Justice Department? Or did the date of November 5 figure in this, too?

"Meanwhile, the Reverend Powell continues to spend most of his time on the warm and sunny island of Bimini, where he once opened a press conference in a saloon with 'Give me a bottle of Cutty Sark [whisky], some juice of the cow and a breath of the Holy Spirit.' Thereupon he mixed himself a drink of whisky, milk and ice, and then planted the bottle on the bar and invited those present to join him. . . .

"Censure would mean little or nothing to the arrogant Powell, who through fraud and other devices converted thousands of dollars to his own use. As for martyrdom, he is already a martyr to a segment of society. But to the vast majority of citizens he is a scoundrel."

No one knows which of the "Nine Old Men" favored considering Powell's appeal. Four members of the tribunal are required to place a case on its calendar.

Solely on the basis of deduction, experts on the Supreme Court's gyrations are guessing that the four jurists most likely to have favored taking the Powell appeal are—Chief Justice Warren, who wants to retire; Justice William O. Douglas, far-out "peacenik" and civil rights crusader; Justice William Brennan, New Jersey Democrat appointed by President Eisenhower; and Justice Thurgood Marshall, named by President Johnson and the first Negro on the bench.

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REP. CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN (R.-Mich.) has sharply criticized NATO leaders for permitting free world ships to traffic with North Viet Nam. In a speech to the North Atlantic Assembly meeting in Brussels, Chamberlain disclosed that during the first 10 months of 1968, 122 allied ships visited North Viet Nam—compared with only 63 for comparable period last year. The worst offender was Great Britain, which permitted 94 of its ships to supply Ho Chi Minh. Other offenders this year: Italy, Japan, Malta, Kuwait, Cyprus, Singapore, Lebanon and Somalia.

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A Tale of Two Candidates

In the November elections in Indiana, Mr. Whitcomb won the governorship while Mr. Ruckelshaus lost the Senate race. Why? The answer will displease liberals.

By M. STANTON EVANS

It has become an article of faith in certain circles that the Republican party must dilute its traditional philosophy if it wants to win elections. According to the soothsayers of the national media, the GOP must field "pragmatic" candidates rather than conservative ones in major contests in the North.

Events this year in the state of Indiana suggest exactly the opposite. In two races for major statewide office, Hoosier Republicans fielded one "pragmatist" candidate and one conservative candidate. Contrary to liberal assurance, the pragmatist lost and the conservative swept through to victory.

The pragmatic hopeful was State Rep. William D. Ruckelshaus, former majority leader in the Indiana House, who opposed Democratic Sen. Birch Bayh. The conservative candidate was Secretary of State Edgar D. Whitcomb—now governor-elect—who ran against Democratic Lt. Gov. Robert L. Rock. The contrast between the Ruckelshaus and Whitcomb campaigns—in terms of substance, technique, and final result—is instructive. It provides clear evidence that a hard-hitting conservative campaign can lead on to Republican victory.

State Rep. William D. Ruckelshaus challenged incumbent Sen. Birch Bayh.

Indiana Secretary of State Edgar Whitcomb took on Lt. Gov. Robert Rock.

Whitcomb on Offensive

Why did Whitcomb win and Ruckelshaus lose? Part of the answer is that Democrat Bayh is well known around the Hoosier State and has developed a highly saleable "image" with the electorate. But this is not the whole explanation. Bayh's federal position and controversial voting record offered opportunities for identifying him with the unpopular national Democratic ticket which did not exist in the race for the Indiana statehouse. But Ruckelshaus' campaign team was unable to turn this fact into a decisive issue for the GOP.

Moreover, late summer polls showed Whitcomb suffering from a recognition gap of his own, and trailing in the prospective vote count. In the space of two months, by dint of hard and intelligent campaigning, Whitcomb transformed this situation into a winning margin. In the process, he swept in the entire GOP state ticket with him and helped rack up Republican legislative majorities of 35 to 15 in the Senate and 73 to 27 in the House.

Ruckelshaus worked just as hard as Whitcomb, and his campaign did not lack for enthusiasm. He enjoyed widespread publicity. He is a bright and personable platform speaker. Yet in the final tally he could not close the gap as Whitcomb did. Indicative of his problems were the vote totals in Marion County (Indianapolis)—home ground for Ruckelshaus but not for Whitcomb—in which his margin over Bayh was 10,000 votes, compared to a 34,000-vote plurality for Whitcomb.

The fundamental difference in the two Republican races had emerged quite clearly by the early part of October: Whitcomb conducted his campaign on basically conservative premises; Ruckelshaus, in terms of both content and technique, kept veering into "modern Republican" territory.

The Whitcomb campaign exhibited three notable characteristics: It held to basic Republican doctrine; it hammered a few key issues home to the voters; and it maintained the offensive at all times in the verbal battling with Lt. Gov. Rock. The conservative Whitcomb urged a "lid on taxes" and a "halt to crime," and he pounded these themes over and over throughout the campaign.

For example, a campaign brochure published by Indiana Citizens for Whitcomb told potential voters:

"If you are part of the silent majority in Indiana politics;

"If you are fed up with a Hoosier crime rate increasing 10 times as fast as the rate of population growth;

"If you have had enough of politicians who play the game of tax-spend-elect with *your* money;

"If you are tired of seeing taxes boosted in Indiana in order to feed a state government that is growing at more than 15 times the rate of population increase;

"If you believe that citizens have the right to bear arms, to protect their families;

"If you think the rule of law must prevail in Indiana, that criminals should be treated as criminals and that a firm hand is needed to prevent civil disobedience, riots in our cities, disorders on our college campuses;

"If you are concerned about these things, then Ed Whitcomb is your man for governor. He is concerned about them, too. He speaks for the silent majority."

The Ruckelshaus effort, by way of contrast, was philosophically diffuse. Some of the Ruckelshaus literature had a "new politics" cast to it, seemingly aimed at the Eugene McCarthy vote. Other Ruckelshaus stands were more in tune with traditional Republican notions. It was hard to grasp the philosophical center of the campaign.

Compare with the Whitcomb brochure quoted above a Ruckelshaus flyer which stated, among other things, the following:

"Bill Ruckelshaus is the sort of man who combines the best elements of formal education—a cum laude graduate of Princeton and a graduate of Harvard University Law School—with the sort of articulate but tongue-in-cheek intellectuality which scorns both pedantic dogma and shopworn simplifications of today's complex problems. . . .

"He advocates 'people power,' he is an outspoken exponent of the politics of participation, a viewer of government's role in society as that of 'explosive catalyst' of the energies of its citizens, of government as 'soul brother' rather than as 'big brother'. . . .

"In short, Bill Ruckelshaus is one of the 'new breed' Republicans—the Lindsays, Lugars*, Hatfields, Towers, Percys, Bakers and Brookes—and his is a Republicanism grounded in the idealism and pragmatism of today's American youth."

Also important was the fact that Whitcomb succeeded in gaining the offensive and that Ruckelshaus did not.

In this, Whitcomb again defied accepted "modern Republican" doctrine and Ruckelshaus again conformed to it. In the "modern" view, a proper GOP campaign must be "positive," projecting "constructive alternatives" rather than attacking the record of the opposition. "Moderates" in the Ruckelshaus campaign bought this idea while the conservative Whitcomb forces did not.

Whitcomb had many affirmative ideas to offer, of course, but the thrust of his campaign was to blitz his Democratic opponent on the issues of taxes and spending. In the month of September, the Democratic candidate had let fall some indiscreet remarks about the supposed need to increase state taxes. Whitcomb hammered this fact home to the voters, keeping Rock on the defensive. At no time, even when the Democrats mounted stinging personal attacks on Whitcomb, did the GOP candidate relinquish the initiative.

Ruckelshaus, by way of contrast, never did succeed in gaining the offensive. This may in part have been related to the philosophical uncertainties of his campaign and the effort to project a "positive" image. While a typical day's release from Whitcomb headquarters would blast Rock on the tax issue, the Ruckelshaus release for the same day would as likely as not contain a study of soyabeans or an exhortation to meet the challenge of "urbanization."

One ironic by-product of this approach was the fact that Ruckelshaus, rather than Bayh, wound up on the defensive. Although Bayh was "in" and his Republican challenger was "out," Ruckelshaus spent the closing days of the campaign defending his voting record in the Indiana House, explaining his position on the locally controversial issue of pari-mutuel betting, and conducting an acrimonious debate with Democratic Rep. Andrew Jacobs Jr. over a case the GOP candidate had handled in a Marion County court. While all this was going on, Bayh roamed the state in above-the-battle serenity.

Which Approach Was Best?

Which of these two approaches was the more effective? The voting results give the answer. Whitcomb beat Rock by a margin of 1,080,271 to 965,816, while Ruckelshaus was losing to Bayh by a margin of 988,571 to 1,060,456. Whitcomb triumphed by more than 114,000 votes, while Ruckelshaus was losing by almost 72,000 votes—a spread of nearly 190,000.

Nor can the Whitcomb win simply be attributed to the "coattail" effect of Nixon's strong run in the state, since Whitcomb finished some 12,000 votes ahead of Nixon. Quite obviously, the gubernatorial candidate was able to hold all or most of the Nixon votes and to pick up many others besides. Ruckelshaus was unable to do the same.

Analysis of voting patterns in Marion County, the state's largest population center, points up the difference rather sharply. In this generally Republican county, Whitcomb defeated Rock by a margin of 166,756 to 132,735. Ruckelshaus' margin over Bayh was only 154,490 to 144,110. This same discrepancy appears in county after county across the state.

Even in areas where the Negro vote is influential—as in the 11th Congressional District—Whitcomb ran ahead of Ruckelshaus. A statistical survey of the 11th prepared by a Republican researcher observes that "district-wide, Ruckelshaus trailed the ticket [i.e., the vote cast for the secretary of state candidate] by 6,272 votes, or 8.6 per cent. Whitcomb was the only major candidate to lead the ticket (2,157, or 2.9 per cent). . . . All principal candidates except Ruckelshaus led Nixon; i.e., must have received some Wallace or Humphrey votes. . . ."

Thus the conservative Whitcomb ran much more strongly than the pragmatic Ruckelshaus even in those areas where the "new breed" tactic is supposed to be most effective. The evidence suggests the Ruckelshaus approach did not do much to pick up liberal Democratic votes, but that it did fail to convince many conservatives that they should cast their votes against Bayh.

It is wise in such cases not to generalize too widely. Local circumstances and local attitudes inevitably enter in, and the results of balloting in one state do not make or break a political party. So far as they go, however, the Indiana results seem clear: The public will respond to an effective presentation of conservative Republican opinions. It is likely to get confused by "pragmatism."

* *Richard Lugar is the liberal Republican mayor of Indianapolis, and a political ally of Ruckelshaus.*

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Nixon Should Take Hard Look at Chile

'Democratic Left' No Answer to Latin Woes

By PAUL BETHEL

The latest word out of Santiago, Chile: Look for Chile's ruling Christian Democrats to form a "popular front" with the Communisgs for the 1970 presidential elections (probably before).

If this happens, it will largely be the consequence of the "progressive" nonsense that has guided our Latin policies for the past eight years. That nonsense postulates the false premise that only regimes of the democratic-left hold the answers to Latin woes (anonymous White House official to the Washington *Evening Star*: "They represent the emergence of a third force to which Latin Americans can turn from the former poles of communism on the one hand and ultra-conservatism on the other.")

But lacking the sheet anchor of deep-rooted and stable institutions (a heritage of Spanish colonial rule), the democratic-left has, in too many instances, flown clear over to the radical left in run-away economic revolutions.

Indeed, some economic and political policies are distinguishable only in very small degrees from those of the Socialists and Communists (Chilean Communist leader Mario Azmorano: "The Christian Democrats and radicals hold many beliefs in the economic and political areas which are just like our own.")

Chile's Christian Democrats are already cooperating with the Communists. They virtually delivered 60 per cent of Chile's organized labor force into the hands of the Communists when they failed to challenge the Socialist-Communist coalition, FRAP. More recently, the CD linked arms with the Communists in successfully putting forward a common slate of candidates to top offices in the National College of Journalists (press and labor are two major targets of the Communists).

The powerful Christian Democratic Youth has stepped up its rapid march to the left by supporting the ultra-leftist August 11 Movement. Santiago's *El Mercurio* quotes its goals: "Student struggle in cooperation with other social forces, participation in the popular struggle and *shifting reformist programs to an ideological and revolutionary cause*" (emphasis added).

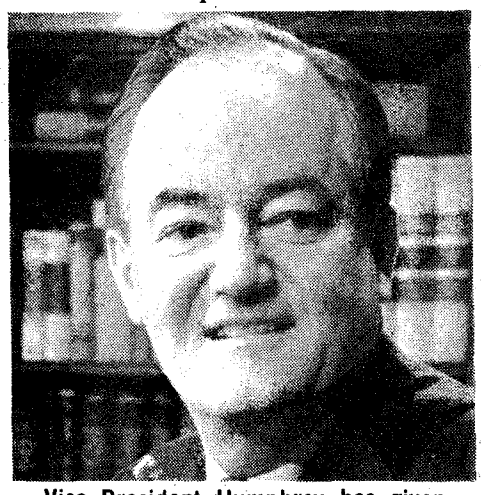
This ideological shift is apparent elsewhere, specifically in Chile's celebrated "agrarian reform." President Frei and his party can point to 70,000 people successfully settled on confiscated land, but they cannot point to a corresponding success in agricultural production. Though Chile has 25 per cent more arable land per capita than the United States, last year it had to import $200 million in foodstuffs. Why? Ideology. Jacques Chonchol, architect of Chile's "reform," went to Cuba in 1959, where for nearly two years he was paid planner for Fidel Castro's Communist rural programs.

It is little wonder, then, that Chile's agricultural program has failed. Like Castro's Cuba, none of the new farmers are eager to produce, since they haven't received one square foot of land they can call their own. This negation of real reform is consciously overlooked in most stories written about Chile.

Chonchol indicated in a November television program why land ownership is withheld from farmers: "They might become bourgeois peasants and support the reactionary sector of Chilean society." In other words, he fears the emergence of an independent-minded farming class! A most curious democratic view. (The New York *Times* makes Chonchol out to be a moderate, saying in a November 14 story that he is a member of a "Third Group" in the CD, located somewhere between the *oficialistas* supporting President Frei and its neo-Communists. This is the *Times* equivalent of the White House official's "Third Force," and expressive of the refusal of both to recognize a revolutionary Marxist when they see one.)

There is evidence, further, that Chonchol may have been protecting conspirators.

One of the leaders of the August 11 Movement, Diego Sierpe Martinez, was found by police to have in his possession "incriminating papers" related to subversion. Interestingly enough, Sierpe Martinez was at the time an official of Chonchol's Institute of Agricultural Development. Chonchol defended his man, but then found it prudent to resign his position with the government.



Vice President Humphrey has given vocal support to the leftward drift of Latin American politics.

In common with many democratic-left parties in Latin America, the CD is also basically anti-American. (CD Youth in joint statement with FRAP Youth: "United States political and economic influence must be totally eradicated from Latin America"; Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdez: "The United States should pay us economic compensation in return for our political support"; former Ambassador to Washington Radomiro Tomic: "The United States treats Latin America as though it was its own back yard.")

Speaking to a crowd of 30,000 in Rancagua recently, President Frei sought to placate the vicious extremists in the CD by claiming that Chile's extremists were all on the right. In reporting on this speech, *Interpress* commented that the Christian Democratic government will, in pre-election oratory, undertake the task of pointing out the ideological differences between the CD and the Communists, but "the basic attack will be against the right [i.e., conservatives]." In further appeasing the extreme left, President Frei has said: "I have opened relations with Communist countries . . . sought the cooperation of . . . the Communist party. . . ."

Despite steady lurches toward the radical left, marked by government confiscation, crippling restrictions on the remittances of profits, forced investment, foreign exchange manipulation and steady encroachment on individual freedoms, Chile's Christian Democrats have received more understanding and financial support from the United States than perhaps any country in Latin America.

In hosting a party for homeward-bound Ambassador Radomiro Tomic, Vice President Humphrey lauded him and the Christian Democrats, saying, "Like our own party [Democrats], they are fighting the status quo and are pioneers of revolution in liberty." Humphrey has on many occasions sought to excuse the dangerous move to the left in Latin America with the demagogic assertion that the direction taken was in response "to hopes for progress that have been aroused," predicting "revolution and chaos" if they are not fulfilled. Specifically, Humphrey has identified the Democratic party with the radical programs undertaken by the democratic-left in Latin America, providing, perhaps, a view of what we could expect had he won the recent election.

Indeed, the excesses of Chile's ruling Christian Democrats are defended by the U.S. government with the comment that the CD prevented the Socialist-Communist FRAP from coming to power in 1964.

Overlooked in this defense is the powerful psychological effect which pre-election U.S. support exerted, not only on political parties in Chile, but elsewhere in Latin America—"If it is necessary to turn left to qualify for political support and economic aid, then by all means let's do so." From this conclusion emerges another: "The government of the United States is also in the hands of the radical left."

The policies of the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations are more responsible than anything else for the rapid decline of moderate-conservative parties south of our borders, and the adherence to radical programs by Latin leaders of international organizations. Following our lead, Galo Plaza, hand-picked by the Johnson Administration as secretary-general of the Organization of American States, has stated: "Chile is making needed structural changes for development." Felipe Herrera, president of the Inter-American Development Bank, has sounded a similar note: "You [Latins] should increase your commerce with Socialist countries . . . to bring about structural changes in the regional economy."

As a result, the democratic-left is busy driving out foreign capital while demanding more government-to-government loans, the better to assert itself in government-controlled economies. Another result is that more and more governments are rushing to open barter trade deals with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, with equivalent reductions in U.S. imports, and a consequent increase in Communist economic penetration and political subversion. They plead shortage of American dollar exchange instruments, but do not mention that this situation would not prevail in a sane climate of private investment and overlook entirely the damage it causes to inter-American economic integration.

Barter trade with Communist countries often is justified by our own officials. Writing in *Foreign Agriculture*, U.S. Agricultural Attache William Bowser ignores the fact that the Communist diplomat and trade negotiator run interference for the KGB agent and the political agitator, saying that barter trade permits Latin American countries "to find better markets for principal products."

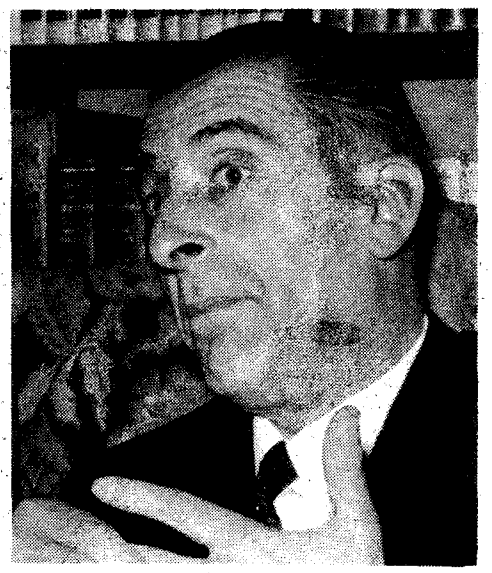
But Bowser doesn't reveal how this can work out in practice. For example, bartered coffee, among Latin America's biggest trade items, does not reach the Soviet consumer; it returns to the world market at a lower price than originally sold. Latin America's coffee-producing countries are then forced to reduce their quota prices to compete with coffee which originally was theirs. The whole of the Latin economy actually suffers from barter trade with Communist countries.

This is the lesson to be learned in Chile: Once a political party parts company with traditional economic theories and business practices, it tends to join company with the radical left.

Themselves government planners, in the last analysis these "liberal" politicians have more in common with the government planner on the left than they do with the inspirations of a truly democratic society. This is the clear result of the CD's attempts to carve out what has been called "a middle course between capitalism and communism."

In any event, since 1962 the United States taxpayer has shovelled $767 million into Chile on the false premises of our own government planners in the State Department and White House. Unless our policies change, not only in Chile but elsewhere in Latin America, we will have expedited the demise of democracy in the Western Hemisphere.

After four years of Socialist planning, there is reported to be a perceptible trend among Chile's electorate for a return to sanity in government. The polls now show that former President Jorge Allessandri may make a political comeback. That the left considers this a strong possibility is shown by the attacks being launched against him by both the CD and the FRAP. Should Alessandri, or a moderate conservative of stature, run for election and show some strength in doing so, the Christian Democrats most probably will merge with the Communists and become virtually indistinguishable from them. For while President Frei has put up some resistance to the idea, his party's power is firmly held by the left.



Chilean President Eduardo Frei has tried to seek accommodation with the so-called "non-Communist left."

All is not lost in Latin America, by any means. There exist many democrats in many parties (including the democratic-left) with whom the United States can work in reasonable harmony for mutually acceptable goals. But one thing is certain. Our own policies in Latin America have to change first—and fast.

Mr. Bethel is executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of the authoritative "Latin America Report." A former member of the U.S. foreign service, he has kept up his many contacts in the Latin American diplomatic corps.

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Why Communism Can't 'Evolve'

The historic futility of aiding totalitarianism

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

A first result of a Nixon Administration may be a debate, in and out of Congress, on the current American policy of helping communism to "evolve" to greater freedom by giving Communist countries aid, trade and credit.

Its champions point to Yugoslavia as an example of what "bridge building" can do to "liberalize" a Communist regime.

Its adversaries point to the fact that despite American aid, Yugoslavia and Poland remain as totalitarian as ever and Rumania, the new beneficiary, in spite of a more independent foreign policy, is internally as hideous a tyranny as ever.

But neither side seems to have gone to the bottom of the argument. This is, as I see it, the question whether communism—the state ownership of the means of production and the limitation of private property to purely personal things—is compatible with either democracy or of human freedom.

Some Socialists believe it is. As examples they point to the early Christian communities, to Christian and Buddhist monasteries and to the Israeli *kibbutzim*. Mihajlo Mihajlov, the courageous Yugoslav now serving a prison sentence for having advocated the creation of a second "Socialist" party, insists that the "real struggle" is between totalitarian "Socialist democracy" and "democratic socialism."

Capitalism, as in America, has no real future, he opines, because it is "economically totalitarian." But since he also compares Joe McCarthy to Lenin and Hitler, his ignorance of capitalist reality is apparent. He also believes, or did, that the coming socialism will be "Christian" because the "projection of authentic Christianity into the sociopolitical sphere is democracy."

Mihajlov even adds the following jewel: "I am not a Communist, but when the West starts persecuting Communists, I become a Communist." He seems not to realize that every existing Communist regime is the creation of a violent minority that might have been prevented by a little timely "persecution."

Many Western champions of the theory of maturing communism seem to go along with Mihajlov.

Much as I admire the Yugoslav's courage, I think him utterly wrong. So, may I add, do such refugees from the Soviet Paradise as Stalin's daughter Svetlana and the novelist, Valery Tarsis. The latter actually accuses the United States of aiding Soviet totalitarianism by trade and political agreements which enhance the diminishing prestige of the regime.

Actually, history knows no example of a Socialist state with almost complete state ownership of the means of production that has not been totalitarian. This goes for the Incas of Peru and for all modern Communist countries. Some regimes have made minor concessions: small plots of ground and a cow in the USSR; small farms in Poland; some economic elasticity in Yugoslavia. But politically they are all one-party, totalitarian tyrannies.

Yugoslav writer Mihajlo Mihajlov is serving a prison sentence for a relatively mild criticism of Tito's regime.

What their rulers fear most is the emergence of a second political party, which might cost the bosses their power and, conceivably, their necks.

Why? My contacts with communism over half a century indicate that the majority of human beings prefer private to public property, not only because it provides greater personal freedom and a higher standard of living, but because the instinct of property antedates the awareness of human solidarity.

If this thesis is correct, any extension of individual freedom endangers the regime.

The Russian Bolsheviks were, from their viewpoint, entirely correct in preventing any loosening of the Czechoslovak chains. Tito is logical in imprisoning Mihajlo Mihajlov, even though the latter claims to adhere to "Christian" socialism.

Any significant relaxation of totalitarianism will mean the end of the Communist ruling class for denouncing which that other Yugoslav, Milovan Djilas, spent several years in jail.

Valery Tarsis is right: Communist regimes cannot safely "mature" and will endure until they are swept away.

Meanwhile, Western trade, aid and all but cultural "bridges" merely prolong their existence.

One may hope that the new U.S. administration will take note of this in considering its trade and aid policy toward our enemies.

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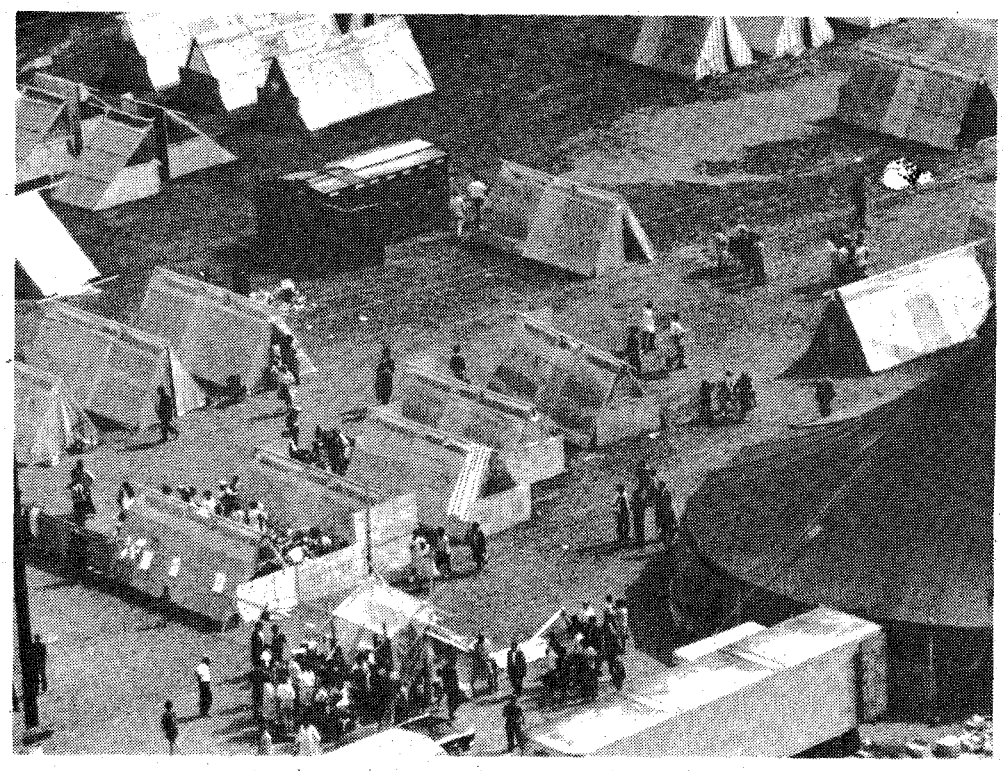

Resurrection City (above) cost the District of Columbia $40 million in lost tourist business alone.

Sue Away, Mr. Abernathy

From the Richmond *News Leader*

The legal hassle developing between the National Park Service and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference over costs resulting from the Poor People's Campaign this past May and June is not without its ironies.

The Park Service has billed SCLC for $71,700 to cover the costs of clearing out "Resurrection City" after the encampment was closed on June 24, but SCLC has refused to pay. In fact, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy now says that SCLC plans to sue the government for $100,000 to cover damages done to poor people's property when Resurrection City was closed down. Mr. Abernathy may be short on charisma, but he certainly does have unmitigated gall.

He contends that inhabitants of the shanty city were not given sufficient notice of the camp's closing, but this assertion does not square with the facts. Mr. Abernathy and his lieutenants were given more than ample notice to prepare to vacate the campsite in an orderly fashion. The 30-day camping permit granted SCLC by the Park Service had expired 10 days before the camp was closed, and a one-week temporary extension had expired three days prior to the closing. Leaders of the campaign had been put on notice that no further extensions would be granted; they chose to remain and to be arrested.

As far as the costs of Resurrection City are concerned, SCLC got a better deal than the American taxpayer. The campsite, to put it mildly, was left in shambles; months passed before it could be restored to its former condition. The District of Columbia sustained a $40-million loss in tourist business; direct costs of police and other services for Resurrection City exceeded $1.7 million.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy's "Poor People's Campaign" already owes the government $71,700.

Mr. Abernathy claims that the campaign cost SCLC $1.5 million, but it's difficult to account for this figure. Participants in the campaign were fed and clothed by civic and charitable organizations in Washington; SCLC's outlays for other supplies could not have been large. Meanwhile, donations from private sources for the campaign netted SCLC more than $1.3 million at last count.

So the Park Service's bill for $71,700 represents only token restitution of tremendous costs to the nation's taxpayers and to the District of Columbia. Payment of that sum would not bankrupt SCLC, and if the organization's leaders were men of grace, they would pay the bill quietly and without fanfare. But if they want to fight the Park Service in the courts, the taxpayers won't mind if the best legal minds in the U.S. Justice Department concentrated on meeting SCLC's challenge. Sue away, Mr. Abernathy—but be prepared to lose.

□□□

'SHOCKING,' INDEED—"Courts are supposed to make their decisions according to the law and the evidence—not the wishes of cheering or booing sections. Two federal judges in New York have properly rebuked the president of Cornell University and 5,000 students for petitioning the courts for leniency in behalf of a student convicted of tearing up his draft card. 'A court is not a political forum; nor should an issue be decided in favor of the litigant who can produce the more influential and more numerous supporters,' said Judge Irving R. Kaufman. He's right. But perhaps the error of the petitioners can be understood because too often in modern times, courts—with the U.S. Supreme Court as the chief offender—have become political forums, activist instruments usurping legislative and executive prerogatives instead of remaining dispassionate judicial tribunals of justice. It's time to set the matter straight, as did Judge Kaufman and Judge Robert P. Anderson, who called the improper effort to influence the court 'shocking.'"—From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

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Ideologues in the Classroom

RUSSELL KIRK

One is not surprised at the phenomenon of radical students if one is acquainted with the intemperance and political fanaticism of some professors and instructors in colleges. Like the radical students, the radical professors are a minority; but again like the radical students, that professorial minority can exert an influence disproportionate to its numbers.

Some weeks ago I lunched with the liberal editor of one of the most influential daily newspapers in these United States. This distinguished editor was exasperated—to put it mildly—at the misrepresentation of affairs in Viet Nam by some people in the academy.

He had visited a Harvard class in history recently, the editor said, and had found the session devoted by the instructor to a demagogic assault on American policy in Southeast Asia—though the course had little or nothing to do with such concerns. Whenever the instructor uttered a particularly stinging witticism touching President Johnson or Secretary Dean Rusk, the students burst into cheers. They were a captive audience, but didn't mind.

When a great university is converted into a collective platform for advancing political dogmas—and confused dogmas at that—the editor remarked to me, what wonder that undergraduates lose all sense of order and all respect for the old duties and rights of the academy. The editor added that parents who hope for their sons and daughters to obtain a tolerable higher education must now think about sending them to small, traditional, liberal-arts colleges, perhaps in the Midwestern states. As I mentioned above, this gentleman is an influential liberal in politics—and a man of the Eastern seaboard.

Also, I conversed not long ago with a conservative gentleman active in California politics. His son, enrolled at a state college in California, had witnessed repeatedly such demagogic performances as the Harvard lecture described by my editor friend.

This California student studied under a professor of political science who was a regular apologist for Soviet foreign policy—and a bitter contemner of American motives. The student, somewhat skeptical about the Earthly Paradise in Eastern Europe described by this professor, on one occasion inquired in the classroom, "What about that Berlin Wall?"

"There is no Berlin Wall, Mr. A.," the professor replied blandly. "You have been victimized by Washington propaganda."

"But I've been in Berlin, and I've seen it," the student rejoined.

"How could you possibly have seen it?" the professor demanded, somewhat on edge. "You're too young."

"I was there last summer with my father, Professor."

The professor hesitated, scowling; then he rallied. "What you don't understand about the Berlin Wall, Mr. A., is this: of the East Germans who climbed over the wall last year, 75 per cent climbed back again. Next question?"

This student's father checked with the State Department. No figures exist as to how many fugitives from East Germany may have climbed back over the wall—though presumably the number is very small. Be that as it may, the professor had invented his statistic on the spur of the moment. Never confuse an ideologue with the facts.

Police try to keep order at embattled San Francisco State College as jeering students parade past. The violence at the California college is symptomatic of the serious disruptions which are often egged on by irresponsible teachers.

Three years ago I published a book called *The Intemperate Professor*. In the title essay I discussed the apparent causes of ideological intemperance among academicians and gave instances of such attitudes. The book was favorably reviewed in the literary supplements, scholarly journals and bigger newspapers; almost no reviewer disputed my thesis that too many professors have fallen victim to fanatic politics—and inflict their private opinions upon their students. Yet there exists no sign that balance has been recovered in the academy since I wrote: indeed, matters have taken a turn for the worse.

I suppose that only painful personal experience can convince the professorial ideologue that something may be wrong with his ideological assumptions and his mode of converting the classroom into a center for indoctrination. In Eastern Europe, China, Cuba and other lands, professors formerly radical have learned what the practical triumph of totalist ideology means; and they have fled abroad, if lucky, or have disappeared, or now labor in a grinding intellectual servitude.

In America, such scholars and gentlemen may strut and shout with impunity in their classrooms, as yet; Mao and Fidel are far distant, and so it is quite safe to sing the praises of these tyrants and to denounce Lyndon Johnson, say, as a merciless warmonger. But were the equivalent of Dr. Castro to sit in the White House, dissent from national policies would be terminated abruptly. The intemperate professor is sheltered by the very institutions he denounces.

Conceivably, however, the violent unrest of students—often stirred up, initially, by the ideologue-professors—may remind some of these academicians that ideas have consequences. When one of the consequences is total disruption of college classes—even the classes of ideologues—why, professors entertain second thoughts.

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ADLAI STEVENSON III, possessor of a famous name and idol of Illinois liberals, may run against Chicago Mayor Richard Daley in 1971. Anti-Daley dissidents are pushing Stevenson, the outgoing state treasurer, for the race.

□□□

AID WASTE IN THAILAND—The watchdog General Accounting Office has accused the Pentagon of wasting millions in Thailand and cites $15 million that was squandered on a useless airfield. GAO probers discovered that the "base" consists only of a concrete runway with taxi and parking area but without buildings of any sort.

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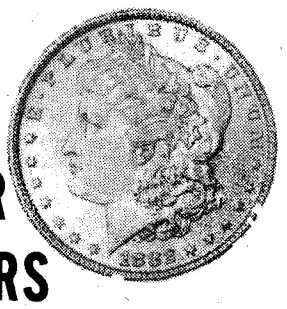

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Ramsey Clark Leaves Time-Bomb for New Administration

Outgoing attorney general refuses to act on reports of new militant 'army'

By PAUL SCOTT

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, scheduled to be replaced on January 20, is leaving a political time-bomb for his successor to defuse.

The government's chief prosecutor has decided not to act on several explosive reports from big city police departments containing conclusive evidence that black militants are setting up their own private army and government within the U.S.

Known as the Republic of New Africa (RNA), the revolutionary secessionist movement is headed by Robert F. Williams, a fugitive wanted for kidnapping in North Carolina.

Williams, who is now operating out of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, advocates the overthrow of the U.S. government by force. He has close contacts with Communist leaders in Communist China, Cuba and Russia.

During the self-imposed absence of Williams, the RNA is being run by Milton and Richard Henry, two black militants who work out of Detroit. Both advocate the use of force, if necessary, to set up an all-black government within the U.S.

While the Justice Department has done little investigating of the RNA on their own because of Clark's hands-off policy, alert police departments in Detroit, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Del., Cleveland and New York have gathered extensive information on the militant movement and its foreign links.

These investigative reports, which have been made available to the Justice Department, clearly show that the RNA already has begun to recruit black militants and Negro students into an army known as the "Black Legion."

Objective of the RNA, according to their own private documents, is "to take over the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and those sections of big cities in the North and West where Negroes are the dominant population."

Within the past six months the leaders of the secessionist movement have established close contacts with foreign Communists and other revolutionary leaders in Communist China, Cuba, Russia, Egypt and Tanzania.

Several RNA officials recently traveled to Tanzania where they met with Williams and Red guerrilla experts from Communist China to discuss the creation and financing of their underground military force in this country.

Although the "hard core" membership in RNA is still estimated to be under 2,500, the growing influence of its leaders among other black militant groups is much larger.

Illustrative of this was the strategic backstage role that RNA leaders played at the National Black Power Conference held in Philadelphia on August 30-September 1.

Although all conference sessions were held under the tightest security, the Philadelphia police force, through its crack intelligence division, penetrated the meeting and prepared an eye-popping 217-page confidential report on its findings.

RNA officials, who furnished security guards for the conference and controlled several of the workshops, were credited with influencing the black militants to hold the 1969 meeting in Mound Bayou City, Miss.

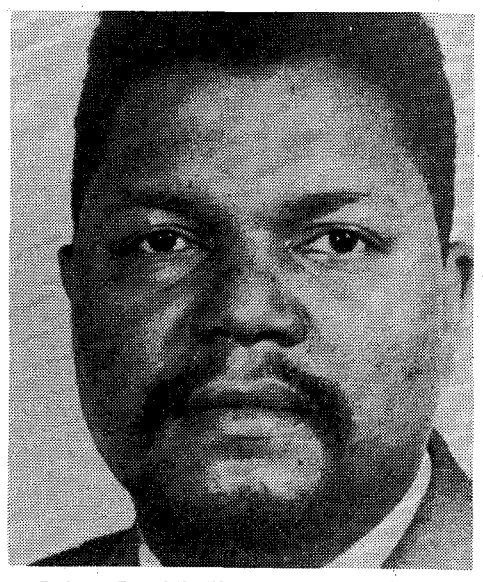
The selection of the Southern site, according to informants, is part of NRA's plans to encourage Negroes throughout the South to support their push for a separate black government and army.

One of the highlights of the Philadelphia police report is an account of a briefing given the conference by Richard Henry (also known as Brother Imari), on RNA's future plans, as follows:

"After introduction, Brother Imari [Richard Henry], Minister of Information for the Republic of New Africa, and author of book 'War in America,' spoke essentially of the things needed to form a new republic, military liability, a believable second strike capability with international and internal support.

"Also discussed was the ability to take and hold states and/or land in the South (Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia). Imari also spoke about the Republic of New Africa, and of their military unit referred to as the 'Black Legion.' He spoke of other elements such as underground and guerrilla groups. Imari stated that this should be pursued here as land has to be taken.

"Imari also spoke about rockets [referring to people] around the cities being able to perform a second strike such as things that occurred in Cleveland, Ohio, and the killing of police in Newark, N.J., and just general sabotage. He stated, 'you have to be able to convince the establishment that the second strike capability could be successful.' Imari stated there must be an arms manufacturer in the area who would supply arms.



Robert Franklin Williams, although he has not been in this country for many years, has nevertheless been plotting with revolutionary militants.

"Imari also discussed having a black underground with international friends such as China, Egypt and Tanzania. Imari's remarks were well received by the members present."

Reports from the Detroit Police Department included RNA documents calling on all Negroes to be prepared to use force, if necessary, to take over areas of their cities and hold them against local law authorities.

Another police report contained photographs of the Henry brothers meeting with Williams and other Communist revolutionaries in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Other documents list names and locations of newly opened RNA councils in Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago and New York, to recruit black militants for the group's army.

A New York Police Department report links the NRA's "black legion" to the militant Black Panther student group now operating in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area, the cockpit of dissension that sparked the longest citywide school strike in history.

Dressed in their black shirts, slacks and berets, the Panthers made several "shows of strength" in support of the school district's black leaders.

As they have the Deacons for Defense in several areas, the RNA has helped organize the Panthers into tightly controlled, gang-like military units.

In recent weeks the RNA has distributed pamphlets in a number of the large cities showing how to make bombs from chemicals. They are also encouraging Negroes to hide persons accused of evading the draft.

Recently FBI agents in both New York and Wilmington, Del., were attacked and had to be rescued by local police when they tried to arrest draft evaders.

Herb Klein: Nixon 'Communications Director'

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

If there is any certainty in this politics-ridden city, it is in its reactions to presidential appointments. No matter who the man, there are always those who feel that he falls short of the demands of the job, that his personality is wanting, or that he is secretly under the influence of the wrong ideologies. But to every certanity there is an exception—and President-elect Nixon has found him in Herbert G. Klein, the newly appointed director of communications.

Mr. Klein has been in and out of Washington many times as press secretary to one of the more controversial political figures of our time. Yet he is universally liked and respected by the very reporters and correspondents who have taken out after Mr. Nixon. This speaks volumes not only for Mr. Klein's abilities but for his tact, patience and basic good humor. The times that he has become angry at the importunities of a press corps which wants what it wants when it wants it can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and that annoyance has been mild compared to some of the towering rages that some press officers indulge in.

Nixon's naming of Herb Klein (above) has pleased much of the Washington press corps—particularly the conservatives.

As a reporter for *Newsweek* and as a columist for King Features, I have seen Mr. Klein in action for more than a dozen years. The slow-spoken, soft-voiced manner and the perpetual squint through which he seems to view the difficult world of politics have become a trademark in those years.

In the 1956 campaign and Mr. Nixon's now-famous trip to the Soviet Union, I have watched his efforts to keep the press informed, to alert them to possible news breaks, to see that their luggage was picked up on time in the morning for delivery to the press plane and on hand when reporters checked in tired and irritable late at night.

In the Soviet Union he was faced with the problem of intransigent Communist officials who were determined to let the press see as little as possible and to keep them far away from the Russian people. Almost on arrival, he was told that American correspondents, who were spending thousands of dollars to cover Mr. Nixon, would have to cool their heels in Moscow while the vice president traveled the country. At this point Mr. Klein informed the Soviets that if the press could not leave Moscow, neither could Mr. Nixon—and the ban was lifted.

In Warsaw, where there was a tremendous and spontaneous outpouring of people, half of the city seemed to be on the streets, cheering Mr. Nixon and covering his car with flowers. Herb Klein's estimate of the crowd size—250,000—was challenged by one reporter, not because it was inaccurate, but because it made Nikita Khrushchev's 100,000, ordered to greet him by Polish authorities the week before, look odd. Mr. Klein suggested that each reporter use his own judgment. (My crowd estimate was 300,000 and this was understated.)

As Mr. Nixon's director of communications, Mr. Klein will be facing the greatest challenge of a career that made him editor of the San Diego *Union* and one of the President-elect's closest associates. Not only will he supervise the dissemination of White House news—a sensitive job—he will also keep an eye on the executive branch's information services. Since every department and agency has its own press officer and staff, each vying endlessly to put forward the best foot of Cabinet member or agency chairman, Mr. Klein's task will be far-ranging and difficult.

Beyond this, Mr. Klein will have the far more important assignment of closing the "credibility gap" which has alienated the American people from its government. That gap began widening when the late President Kennedy imposed the tightest restrictions on news that I have seen since World War II. This policy was continued by President Johnson, with disastrous effects.

If Mr. Klein can restore to the White House and to the executive branch the confidence it must have—and if he can insure a flow of hard and accurate news while preventing the leakage of genuinely classified information—he will make a great contribution to the political health of this country. He has always believed in telling the truth, even if it hurts, and there is little reason to think that he will break with this principle now.

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Strikes Threatened Before January

Nixon Faces National Transportation Crisis

By VICTOR RIESEL

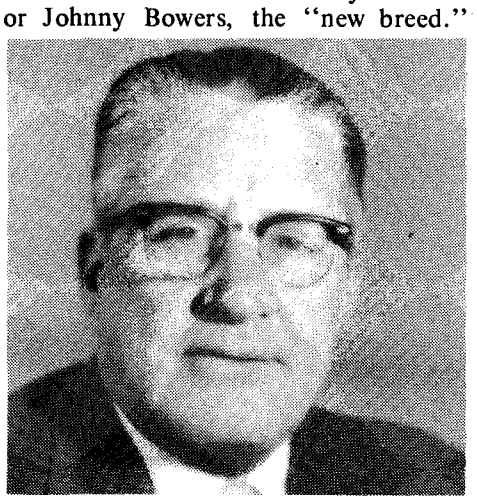
Of late, some of our most global-minded leaders have had to spend as much time handling strikes at schools, insane asylums and garbage dumps, as juggling national, international and celestial crises.

Strike fever is rampaging through this country like the Hong Kong flu—Richard Nixon, war or no war, will not be immune.

Not yet sworn in, he's being sworn at. Some union chiefs are wondering just how tough he'll get when he gets to his Oval Room desk and discovers he's taken the presidency amid a triple crisis—threats of transportation paralysis on the land, on the sea and in the air.

Led by a couple of fighting fellows whose tactics have driven the British beyond the pale centuries earlier, the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO) plans to pull out its 75,000 dockwallopers just five days before Christmas. They rarely fail to walk out. In seven contract negotiations, they've struck seven times.

Getting them back will be as tough as recorking a bottle of champagne. No one fazes old-timer Teddy Gleason or Johnny Bowers, the "new breed."



Teddy Gleason, head of the International Longshoreman's Association, will be a tough customer to deal with.

Certainly not Presidents of the U.S., and not even the gentle persuader and adviser to Presidents, conciliator David Cole.

When the table-banging, jungle-jargoned ILA President "Teddy" and the soft-voiced, steel-toned Executive Vice President "Johnny" lead their men out—the strike rolls and rolls. Last time, the stoppage went for over a month and cost the nation at least $3 billion in lost trade. This time Johnny Bowers tells me it will go longer—"definitely into the Nixon Administration."

All this hasn't calmed President Johnson's era-end nerves. That financial crisis abroad has the White House as jittery as the franc and the pound. The President does not want history to note that he left the office with a legacy of strife and a rocky dollar.

His intensity, though obscured by turbulence abroad, is reflected in his dispatch of the self-effacing Dave Cole as the ambassador to the New York waterfront. But even the magisterial conciliator Cole may be able to do but little.

Point is that though few have noticed, and many someday will suddenly awaken to the fantastic fact, America's "waterfront" is disappearing. And with it will go the longshoreman and his emblem, "the hook."

Soon, say Teddy and Johnny, there may be just two or three ports left—New York, Norfolk and perhaps New Orleans on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. Just as the pregnant word "automation," with little notice, swung into our glossary back in 1954, so the word "containerization" is here to stay now that it's 1969, almost.

Nothing complex about it. Say you want to ship some tonnage from the heart of Europe to Chicago. You get the crates to Basle, Switzerland. There they are locked with other freight in a huge metal container. This is trucked or piggybacked by rail to Rotterdam. Then it is slung onto a special ship which steams swiftly to New York.

From here, it is piggybacked to Chicago. There the seal is broken for the first time. Then the shipments are parceled out and delivered—all with virtually no move by human hands. And all in 12 to 14 days.

There will be no need for such ports as Boston, Baltimore, etc., say the longshoremen gloomily. And so they want all sorts of guarantees. They want the right to "strip" such containers and repackage them. They want the right to travel inland and load them at points even 50 miles from the docks. They want a guarantee of 2,080 hours work a year—practically a guaranteed annual wage. They want over $4 an hour for a six-hour day and special time for overtime.

They want a $300-a-month pension. More holidays, bereavement pay, etc.

The employers retort that they'll guarantee the work year—if the union will permit cutting three men from each 18-man work gang, and if the gangs will shift from one pier to another in the harbor. The shippers charge that under the present work year guarantee of 1,600 hours, some longshoremen sit idly on one pier while men are desperately needed on another a mile away.

Meanwhile, the independent West Coast longshoremen have been calling their Eastern rivals and suddenly pledging support. They too will have a containerization problem soon, though they say they've solved theirs. So ILA leaders here in New York believe there's a possibility of a three-coast strike—paralyzing everything from Maine to Washington. And there's a war on.

And as the longshoremen's strike picks up tension by bottling up some 950 ships, the Machinists will threaten to strike commercial airlines (remember?) and shop craft unions will attack on the rail front.

At this moment, Richard Nixon will be preparing his State of the Union message. His party is pledged to a disciplined position on such emergency strikes. The Congress will be in a mood to pass compulsory settlement laws.

For the rest of this story, watch the front-page headlines.

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Why Not Sell Some Federal Land?

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Surely, the new Nixon Administration should not only kill off costly old, scandal-ridden programs such as the Job Corps ($280 million) but begin new programs that shore up the solvency of the country.

One multi-billion-dollar step that qualifies is the sale of the ridiculous surpluses of government land. We taxpaying peasants could be handed this bonanza—and should be—fast.

Today all but 15 per cent of Arizona is federally owned. The government owns 80 per cent of Idaho. A full 96 per cent of giant Alaska, overwhelmingly the Union's largest state, more than twice the size of Texas, is federally owned.

Much is needed, but this much? There's an old saying in French bureaucracy that nothing is as permanent as a temporary job. So it is whenever the government pours the taxpaying peasants' money into land. The potential recovery is nearly incredible.

In this the new Administration encounters the bureaucratic inclination to use secrecy, not in the national interest but in the departmental interest—to cover up. By its fresh start the new Administration can see to it that the facts of record are no longer twisted, ignored, obscured, alibied or swept under the rug.

The Defense Department alone now has $38.4 billion tied up in its land holdings at home and abroad. This single department controls 27.6 million—yes, million—acres in the United States—4.3 million in California alone. Incredibly, its worldwide holdings cover more than the acreage of Delaware, New Hamphire, New Jersey, Maryland, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Vermont combined.

In San Francisco, for example, the Presidio overlooks the beautiful bay. This Army reservation—now chiefly a barracks area—is one of the most valuable pieces of large-scale real estate in the city, along with the sprawling, utterly obsolete and abandoned coastal gun defense locations that I saw recently in Marin County and elsewhere.

When Congress enacted the Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government, many of the nation's most distinguished real estate men and specialists were enlisted to perform a public service in the matter of excess government land holdings. Their investigations and tabulations took two years. What they really encountered was government land-hoarding—much of which involved the Department of Defense.

In Defense, as elsewhere, they found that no matter how obsolete the need for the land became the government sales of unneeded land were peanuts compared to the potential. Meanwhile, the government as a whole keeps on buying, buying, buying. The Hoover Commission report detailed the proper recovery of billions on billions. And now here comes the land boom.

"We're in a nationwide land lottery," admits Interior Department expert William H. Schofield. Farm land prices are at an all-time high and increased another 6 per cent last year. Some Midwest crop property costs 32 per cent more than only two years ago. Some California land prices are up about 60 per cent since 1957.

Land values in general have risen an average 5 to 10 per cent a year. Lands suitable for recreation development are climbing much faster.

President Johnson instituted the Conservation and Water Fund in 1964. In 1966 the Congress authorized the establishment of 23 additional federal recreation areas that involve buying 250,000 acres at a taxpayers' cost of $119 million. That's $476 an acre. This is only the beginning, however. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall has testified that this over-all buying program, as enacted, will fall short of the real cost by between $2.7 billion and $3.7 billion in the next nine years.

As one result, although it has been previously rejected by the Budget Bureau, Secretary Udall has been driven to ask for advance appropriations and a first priority on the $1.5 billion the government collects annually from the outer shelf mineral leases and the annual $700-million federal income from timber, cereal, etc., sales which go into the treasury's general fund.

In the face of all this, to say nothing of the dictates of sound practice, the new Nixon Administration certainly cannot allow the departments to drag their feet any longer on the sale of the vast excess lands everlastingly frozen in the clutch of bureaucracy, inertia, buck-passing and red tape. Hey!—that's our money!

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Debunking the Myth of Bobby Kennedy

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

The post-election rush to start the Ted Kennedy-for-President bandwagon rolling was indecent enough in its immediacy. Before all the 1968 presidential votes had been counted, the rush was on. And the move was doubly indecent in its exposure of the naked ambition of the Kennedy followers, the sentimentalists and the cold pragmatists, as well as the frustrated followers of the two dead men who would perpetuate a political dynasty for their own aggrandizement.

"Robert F. Kennedy: The Myth and the Man"
By Victor Lasky
Trident Press, 1968
448 Pages, $6.95

It is precisely because of the naivete of the starry-eyed, and the cynicism of the power-greedy hard-liners, that books like *Robert F. Kennedy: The Myth and the Man* by Victor Lasky (Trident Press) have particular value.

This new "inside" book is by a former newsman who wrote an earlier bestseller on President Kennedy. He devoted several years to study and research into the family background and careers of the two brothers who were so tragically cut down in their prime. The new book, like its predecessor, is a debunking book. However, it does a greater service to the memories of both men than the sickeningly sentimental adulatory volumes which make them candidates for canonization.

It is Lasky's conviction that the people of the United States are entitled to know the whole truth about the Kennedys. It is his conviction, also, that "the adulators are making Robert Kennedy in death larger than he was in life for all his extraordinary vitality, spirit and zest." The process has already begun, and it will go further than is healthy, for Robert Kennedy was a striking human being. As Edward Kennedy put it in his eulogy of his brother, "he does not need the legend to magnify him."

Author Lasky feels Robert Kennedy should not be made "in death larger than he was in life."

In seeking honestly to portray Robert Kennedy as he actually was—an earthy, colorful figure to whom little mattered but victory—Lasky does his memory a service. For a myth dehumanizes a man. And above all else the two assassinated Kennedys were human, with faults and virtues, strengths and weaknesses like the rest of us.

It is because they also had an exceptional appeal to the public, which their expensive, efficient publicity machines constantly kept burnished and alive, that the myth arose when they were gone. Lasky's meticulously documented book, which he had completed before the June tragedy and withheld from publication until now, dissolves the myth. He does not employ invective or indulge in casual conjecture. He merely lets the record speak for itself.

As a result of his journalistic integrity and skill, the book is a fascinating and revealing story of a man whose ambition outran his judgment.

Virtually assistant or associate President while his elder brother was the nation's Chief Executive, Robert Kennedy convinced himself he had a divine right to the presidency and he spared nothing to get there. He could not tolerate President Johnson in the office his brother had held. The lightning speed with which Bobby and his myrmidons set out to capture the Democratic nomination and make a drive for the presidency is one of the political tales men will be telling and retelling for years. The terrible price he paid for his determination to win this most important of all the contests he'd ever been in—his untimely, violent death—is a tragic reminder that man does not control his final destiny.

Lasky's book explains much that was paradoxical in Bobby's character, but like the good reporter he is, he does not let himself be drugged by the passion for analysis of motives which is characteristic of the "think pieces" written by the sociologists and psychoanalysts and behavioral scientists, pseudo and real.

After the sordid public row over the book Jackie Kennedy selected William Manchester to write about the assassination, Bobby's image was badly hurt, and the polls showed voters no longer favored him over the President. It was then that Bobby decided to make a "quest for peace" a political springboard back.

He started his quest with a seven-day tour of Europe, in which he behaved as if he were already President. He visited England, France and Italy. In Paris he spent 70 minutes with de Gaulle, and had time for his self-appointed mission to attend a party for the "beautiful people," movie stars Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton and such types. He also saw Pope Paul.

The Kennedys are an extraordinary American family, but they do not have a vested interest in the American presidency. Young Sen. Edward Kennedy is a serious, hard-working young man who went from youthful sports and pleasures into the Senate at age 30. He has a long way to go before he can qualify for the presidency. Lasky's book shows clearly that Bobby was not qualified either. It is a piece of Americana not to be missed.

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Let's Impeach Nixon!

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The reproaches of our own liberals and those of the foreign press make it appallingly clear that we erred grievously in electing Mr. Nixon.

Indeed, no man in our history has been so condemned for nonfeasance, misfeasance and malfeasance. And all this before taking office! Heaven only knows what he will do after inauguration.

It isn't as though we hadn't been warned. He had defeated Helen Gahagan Douglas by precisely the same unscrupulous method he used in besting Hubert—that of getting more votes than his opponent.

Further, it was he who led the shameful persecution of Alger Hiss, that peace-lover who had built bridges to Russia by opening our secret archives to her. Too, as far back as 1960 we knew that Richard was subject to 5 o'clock shadow, and this year Sen. Muskie revealed that Nixon sweated under the arc-lights on TV—could you trust a man like that?

And we had hints in 1964 that Nixon was psychotic, for he had campaigned for Goldwater who—shudder!—might have escalated our non-war in Viet Nam. And Drew Pearson has recently disclosed that in 1950 Nixon visited a physician who later became a psychiatrist, unquestionably influenced by his patient's strange behavior to learn more about mental quirks.

Is such a man fit to lead us in these critical times? Our Hanoi colleagues, with whom we enjoy a cease-fire at Paris if nowhere else, clearly think otherwise. Can we afford to forfeit their good will?

And—the clincher—Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has broken his silence of almost two weeks to say he is unhappy with Nixon and concerned about the next four years. And when our most objective historian registers his objections in the equally objectionable New York *Times*, we would do well to confess our error and try to correct it, rather than do nothing and thereby compound our fall from grace.

How? Well, how about impeaching Mr. Nixon? I concede it unusual to impeach a President before he begins his term—but the situation calls for drastic treatment. We have only till January 20 and, what with Christmas and New Year's coming, time is of the essence.

LBJ—as he has reminded Mr. Nixon—is still President and intends to function as such till the very last moment. He should summon the Senate—the arbiter in impeachment cases—back for a special session to hear the aforementioned charges against Mr. Nixon, together with any others the boys can dream up.

Impeachment proceedings are public, so in all probability we could view the hearings on TV. And with Nixon perspiring under the lights and his beard showing, he would surely look as guilty as he is. You can't fool the camera, they tell me.

Now it could be that, in spite of all this, the Senate might not be able to deliver the necessary two-thirds vote to convict.

But we have another ace in the hole. Simultaneously with the impeachment, we make use of the gifts of the rebellious students of the New Left. These lads could be used to stage sit-ins, hurl Molotov cocktails and raise general Cain when the Electoral College meets in the various states.

These youngsters have already proven their mettle by closing down universities all the way from New York to California. Does anyone think that a mere college could stop them—even an Electoral College?

I see it now. The electors meet to cast their vote. In marches a squad which has been bloodied in battle with marches on the Pentagon, Chicago and various campuses. The rebels take over and hold the electors captive, meanwhile destroying the records of the state's voting totals.

They then present a list of their demands, foremost of which is that they be given half the electoral vote. Some bullheaded electors object, but the liberals yield, some of them joining the rebels. A compromise is worked out, giving the rebels 40 per cent.

Well, if Nixon loses 40 per cent of his electoral vote, Humphrey emerges the victor, just as pollster Lou Harris predicted in his final report.

So what are we waiting for? Up and at 'em! And put none but liberals on guard!

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What About Czechoslovakia?

'Human Rights' and the United Nations

By JOHN LOFTON

The fecklessness of the United Nations, heretofore the concern solely of little old ladies in PF Flyers (or so we were told), is now pretty much acknowledged by everybody.

The New York *Times* quotes "a high Administration official" as saying in private that the U.N. must be reformed. "This one-country, one-vote principle is mad," says the anonymous aide.

The *Wall Street Journal*, lamenting among other thing the U.N. General Assembly Outer Space Committee's taking five years to reach an agreement on the rescue of astronauts and the return to countries of origin, editorially sighs that the "U.N.'s irrelevancy grows, as it walks away from crisis to crisis."

Ultra-liberal Murray Kempton, writing in the ultra-liberal New York *Post*, ululates that a search through the supplement to the annual report of the secretary-general of the U.N. ("a mass of the most tedious fripperies") does not appear to mention the Ibos, those unfortunate victims dying by the thousands in the civil war in Nigeria.

A Swedish military general, Maj. Gen. Carl von Horn, who served the U.N. in Palestine, the Congo and Yemen, is severely critical in his book, *Soldiering for Peace*, of the way the U.N. "threw together" its peacekeeping armies and sent them into action under "nightmare" conditions, with no planning, inadequate supplies and vague powers.

In the Congo operation, the general says, the U.N. "established its own conception of 'Alice in Wonderland'," with a military operation in which "logic, military principles—even common sense—took second place to political factors." The operation, he says, was run from U.N. headquarters in New York by people who "were totally out of touch with reality."

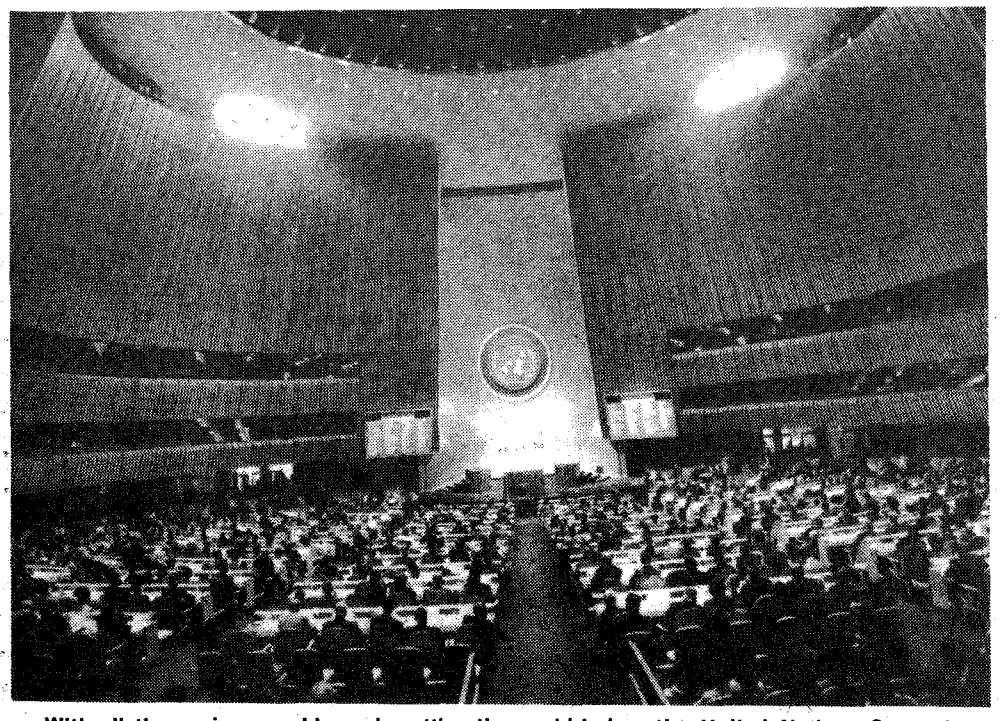
And then last July, as if to show that all U.N. foul-ups need not necessarily be external, members of the Staff Council, representing some 4,000 secretariat employes, boycotted the staff cafeteria in protest over a five-cent increase in the price of a cup of coffee. "The problems of the U.N. catering service cannot be solved at the expense of the staff," snorted spokesmen for the Staff Council. And to whom else should a catering service pass along a price increase other than those being catered? But then logic has no place at the U.N.

And this year? Things look even worse.

What with the war in Viet Nam, genocide in Biafra, the explosive situation in the Middle East and the resurgence of Stalinism in the Soviet Union's crushing of freedom in Czechoslovakia, one would think the U.N. would have more than enough to occupy its time this session.

Yet, what was the first topic of discussion? I quote from an Associated Press dispatch dated Oct. 28, 1968: "The ocean bottom was the first item of debate today as the U.N. General Assembly's main political committee got down to work.

"The 125-nation committee is considering a proposal to appoint a special body to study ways of exploiting the unclaimed ocean bottom for the benefit of mankind. . . .



With all the serious problems besetting the world today, the United Nations General Assembly's first order of business was to consider appointing a committee to study the ocean floor.

"Victor J. Gauci of Malta [pop. 319,000] was to report for a year-old committee which is sponsoring a resolution to create a new, permanent 'Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor.'"

Shortly after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, I wrote the U.N. Commission on Human Rights noting that earlier this year they condemned certain executions in Rhodesia and expressed grave concerns at the threat to international peace and security constituted by these actions.

"Furthermore, according to one of your own reference papers," I wrote, "you called on the United Kingdom to take immediate steps to restore human rights and fundamental freedoms of the African people in Southern Rhodesia, and to take urgent and immediate steps to save the lives of the remaining 100 or more political prisoners and freedom fighters unlawfully detained.

"My question is this: what requests have you made of the Soviet Union regarding their invasion of Czechoslovakia?"

I airmailed this letter on September 1.

On November 6 I received my answer from one G. N. Ceccatto, Human Rights officer, Division of Human Rights: "Dear Mr. Lofton: I wish to inform you that your communication will be dealt with in accordance with paragraph 2 (b) and (e) of resolution 728 F (XXVIII) of the Economic and Social Council, a copy of which is enclosed.

"Your attention is drawn to paragraph one of the resolution, in which it is stated that the Commission on Human Rights has no power to take any action on complaints concerning human rights."

President-elect Richard Nixon has offered Hubert Humphrey the post of U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, but the vice president declined the job.

That's too bad. I can think of no two parties more deserving of each other.

□□□

REUTHER'S NEW LOBBY—In his first concrete step to outflank the AFL-CIO in political activism, exiled UAW boss Walter Reuther has announced formation of an organization to lobby for compulsory national heath insurance, financed by the federal government. The group, called the Committee of 100 for National Health Insurance, will conduct a public propaganda campaign, solicit professional support, and besiege Congress with health insurance proposals. Reuther, who was ousted from the AFL-CIO last May and later formed (with the Teamsters) the American Labor Alliance, intends to undermine the federation's liberal political position by pursuing radical programs and attracting the support of activist ultra-liberals.

Bill Buckley for U.N. Ambassador?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Red China must be in real trouble: its leaders are making overtures to Richard Nixon for a February meeting on "coexistence."

The request for a powwow in Warsaw is tricked out with a bit of humorless bluster about the U.S. agreeing "to immediately withdraw all its armed forces from China's Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits," which is silly on its face.

Presumably Peking has never read Richard Nixon's homage to "unforgettable" John Foster Dulles, who held the Taiwan Straits to be the inviolable demarcation line between Asian communism and the free world. Still, the fact that Peking wants to mollify us by reopening talks is prime evidence that the Red Dragon has lost the old fire-breathing assurance with which it used to confront all the decadent bourgeois nations of the West.

The clue to the Peking attitude could be North Viet Nam, which has been edging closer and closer to the Russians in spite of Red Chinese disapproval of anything that smacks of friendship with Moscow. The Soviets have promised North Viet Nam all sorts of help for 1969: fertilizers, machinery, arms. Peking, stumbling out of the morass of a misfiring "cultural revolution," has nothing to offer anybody. Hence the oblique request for a lifeline from the U.S.

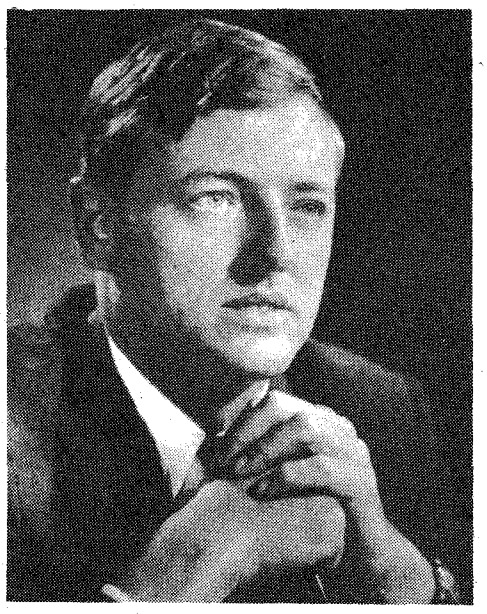
There are two good ways of responding to the Red Chinese feelers. One is to tell Mao and his mates to go fly a kite. The other is to dangle some counter-proposals before Peking's troubled bureaucrats.

We might suggest a deal on a "two China" seating in the U.N. if (a) Peking relinquishes all claim to Taiwan in perpetuity; (b) if it willingly supports a comprehensive East Asian peace that recognizes and guarantees the sovereignty of South Korea and South Viet Nam; and (c) it repudiates any and all Communist subversion in India, Laos, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Cambodia.

If the boys in Peking would undertake to satisfy us on these points, it might be taken as a sign that Red China had become sufficiently civilized to be seated in the U.N. In return for a promise of decency by Mao and his mates, we could undertake to support a repentant Peking in the U.N. if Moscow and Albania, for differing reasons, should get uppity about a Red Chinese "sell-out" to the bourgeoisie.

Just to make things satisfactory all around, Dick Nixon might accept a modest proposal which comes to me from a bright citizen of Richmond, Va. The proposal is to make the irrepressible conservative editor and publisher, William F. Buckley Jr., our ambassador to the United Nations. My Virginia friend, to be sure, wants to see Bill Buckley at the U.N. in order to "bring to the attention of Americans, and the rest of the world, this organization's almost complete uselessness." But this is not exactly accentuating the positive. I can see a far more promising future for Bill Buckley at the U.N.

For example, if Bill were to take over the job of representing the U.S. in the glass house beside the East River I would look to see him emerge as the champion of a true anti-imperialism. In his maiden speech he would, of course, call for tougher sanctions against Rhodesia provided that similar sanctions be invoked against (a) Brezhnev and Kosygin for holding three million Jews captive in the Soviet Union; (b) against Ulbricht of East Germany for shooting people at the Berlin Wall for the crime of wanting freedom; (c) against Castro for pretending that he is a human being; and (d) against Nasser for keeping the Middle East in an uproar.



Bill Buckley as a diplomat could be expected to make the United Nations a more interesting forum.

We would, of course, expect the new Red Chinese member to go along with us in these unexceptionable applications of simple and irrefutable anti-imperialist logic.

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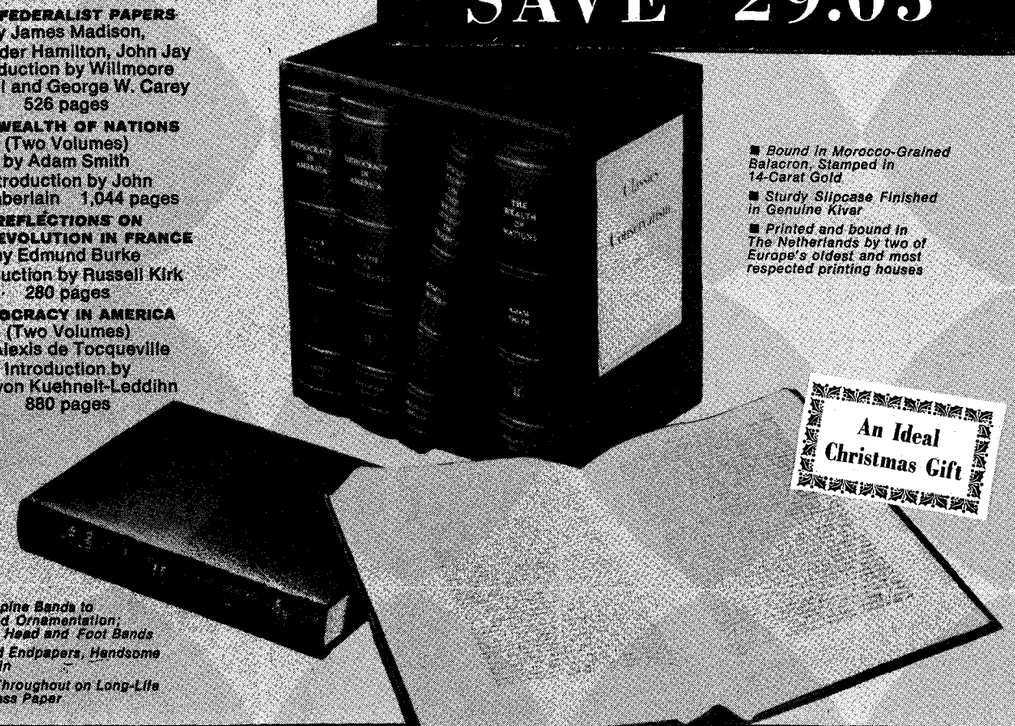

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